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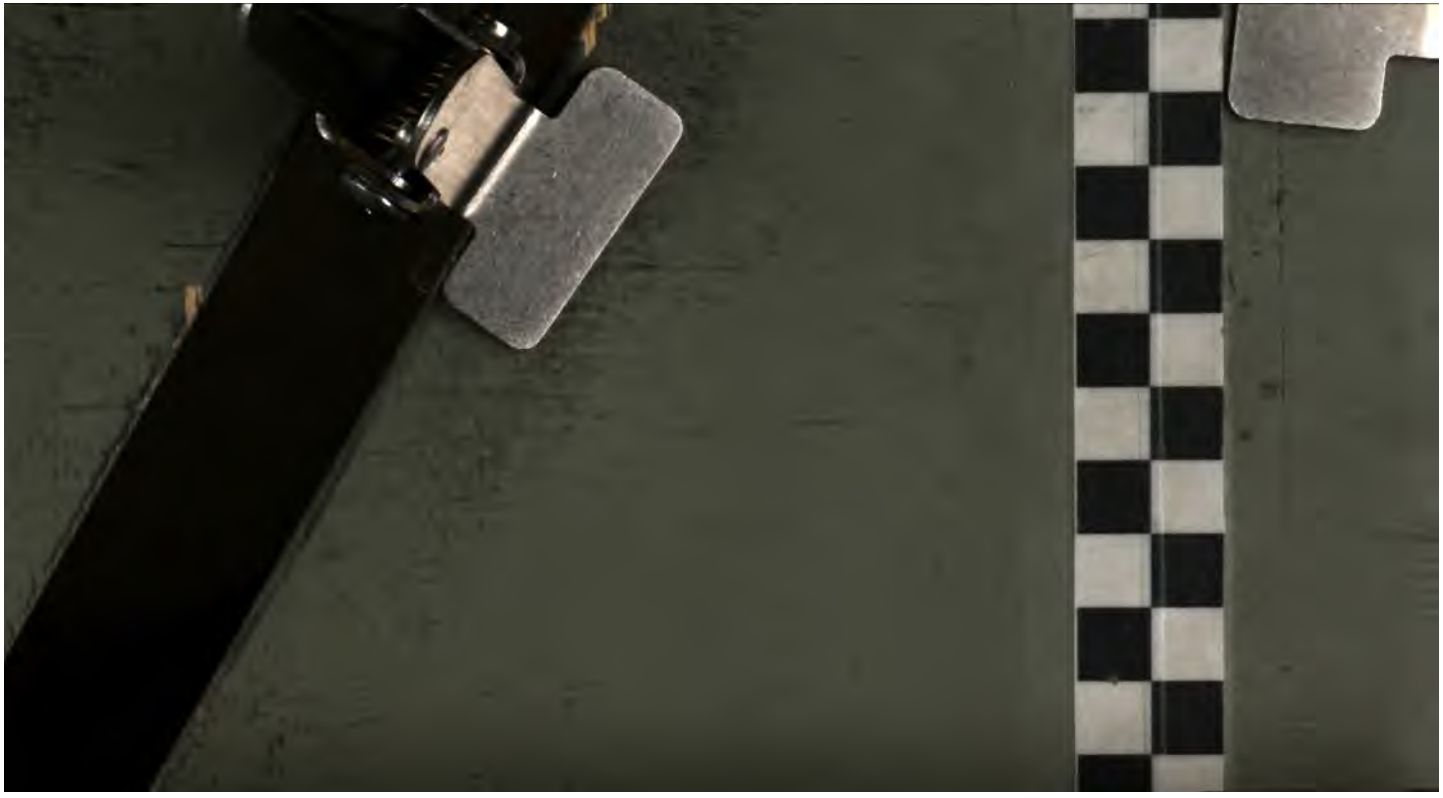

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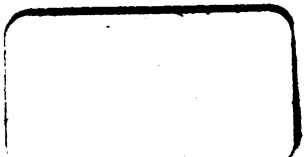

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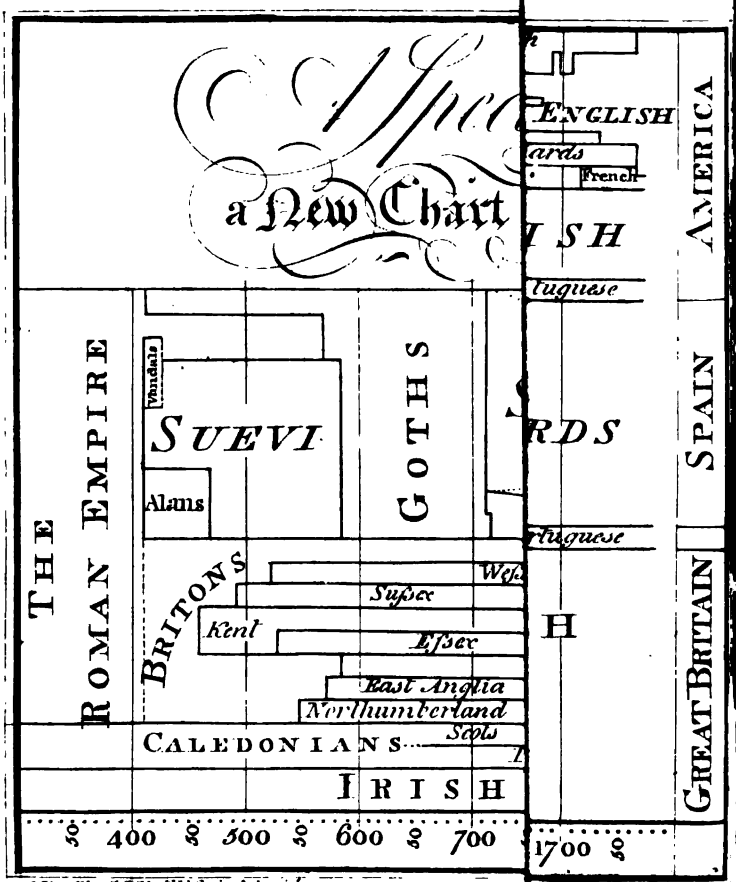

J. Priestley LL.D. F.R.S. inv.t et del.

H.W. Wester sc.

LECTURES

ON

HISTORY,

AND

GENERAL POLICY;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN ESSAY ON A COURSE OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR CIVIL AND ACTIVE LIFE.

AND

AN ADDITIONAL LECTURE ON THE *CONSTITUTION* OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE WHOLE CORRECTED, IMPROVED, AND ENLARGED:

WITH

A CHART OF HISTORY AND A CHART OF BIOGRAPHY.

BY JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D. F. R. S.

AC. IMP. PETROP. ET PARIS. HOLM. TAURIN. AUREL. MED. PARIS. HARLEM. CANTAB. AMERIC. ET PHILAD. SOCIUS.

——— Juvat exhaustos iterare labores,
Et sulcata meis percurrere litora remis.
BUCHANANI FRANCISCANUS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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DEDICATION.

TO

BENJAMIN VAUGHAN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

THESE Lectures were formerly addreſſed to you as a pupil; and I ſhall think myſelf happy if what you ſay you heard with pleaſure formerly, do not diſappoint you now; which is often the caſe with the objects of our fond admiration in younger years. Conſider, however, that theſe Lectures were not intended for *proficients* but for *ſtudents*, unfurniſhed with the very rudiments of hiſtorical and political knowledge, and that you attended them at the age of ſixteen.

With this allowance, it may give you pleaſure (as the motto from my

favourite Latin poet expreſſes it) *to go over the ground you have formerly trodden.* Remember, then, that you are now to read for *amuſement*, and not for *inſtruction*; and I ſhall be happy if the ſcenes which I may bring to your recollection give you as much ſatisfaction as they do me: for I never experience greater, than when I find young men of ability formed to virtue, and uſefulneſs in life, under my inſtructions.

My obligations to your father, to yourſelf, and to the whole of your large and reſpectable family, will always be a ſubject of pleaſing recollection to me; and this is a circumſtance that greatly heightens the ſatisfaction I have in ſubſcribing myſelf on this occaſion,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend,

BIRMINGHAM,
Jan. 1, 1788.

J. PRIESTLEY.

PREFACE.

At the requeſt of many of my former pupils, I now publiſh the heads of the *Lectures on History and general Policy*, which I compoſed for their uſe when I was tutor at Warrington, and which I promiſed to do when I publiſhed my *Eſſay on the firſt Principles of Government*. I prefix to them an *Eſſay on a Courſe of liberal Education for civil and active life*, which has been long out of print, and which will no more accompany my *Miſcellaneous obſervations relating to Education*. It will be very evident that it has a much nearer connexion with theſe lectures, which were compoſed in purſuance of the ideas which I have there enlarged upon. The following circumſtance gave birth to them both.

On my accepting the office of *Tutor in the Languages and Belles Lettres* in that academy, I found that the far greater part of the ſtudents were young gentlemen deſigned for civil and active life, whereas the courſe of ſtudy, as in all other places of liberal education, was almoſt intirely adapted to *the learned profeſſions;* and it occurred to me that, beſide the lectures which

they had been uſed to attend, other courſes might be introduced, which would bring them acquainted with ſuch branches of knowledge as would be of more immediate uſe to them when they ſhould come into life. With this view I planned and compoſed three courſes, one on *hiſtory in general*, another on *the hiſtory of England*, and a third on *the laws and conſtitution of England*, ſyllabuſſes of which will be ſeen in my former *Eſſay on Education*.

The publication of *Blackſtone's Commentaries*, and of *Sullivan's Law Lectures*, has made it unneceſſary to publiſh the third of theſe courſes, and *Henry's History of England* has ſuperſeded the ſecond, though my plans will be ſeen to be, in ſeveral reſpects, more comprehenſive than theirs, eſpecially than that of Dr. Blackſtone. But no publication that I have yet ſeen will probably be thought to ſuperſede the lectures contained in theſe volumes. For beſide what relates to *history*, I endeavoured to bring into it as many articles of *miſcellaneous knowledge* as I could, in order to enlarge the minds of young men, and to give them liberal views of many important ſubjects, and ſuch as could not ſo well be brought before them in any other courſe.

So far, therefore, was I from endeavouring to keep ſtrictly to the title which I firſt gave theſe lectures, viz. *on History*, that I ſtudied to exceed

exceed thoſe bounds as much as, with any propriety, I poſſibly could; and I ſoon found that, under the head of *objects of attention to an hiſtorian*, or a reader of hiſtory, I could eaſily bring the very important ſubject of *general policy*, or an account of thoſe things which principally contribute to render the great ſocieties of mankind happy, numerous, and ſecure, with which young men of fortune cannot be too well acquainted. The reader muſt not, however, expect to find any thing more than the outline of this branch of knowledge. For *general principles* are all that can be taught at a place of education. The *details* of things muſt be left to men's reſearches afterwards. Through the whole I hope I have kept in mind, that the moſt important object of education is to form the minds of youth to virtue; and therefore I have made a point of omitting no fair opportunity of introducing ſuch obſervations and reflections as appeared to me to have that tendency, eſpecially at the beginning and the cloſe of the courſe.

I muſt alſo remind the reader, that all he is to expect from theſe lectures is a judicious ſelection, and arrangement, of the knowledge that was to be collected from books which were extant at the time when they were compoſed. Many of the obſervations, however, are, as far as I know, original; but, at this diſtance of

time, it is not in my power to diſtinguiſh thoſe that are ſo from thoſe which I collected from other writers. I cannot in all caſes even diſtinguiſh my own compoſition from the extracts which I made from the works of others; and not having at firſt any intention of publiſhing theſe Lectures, I neglected to take notes of the books that I quoted. But this is of little conſequence to the reader; it being ſufficient for him if the *facts* may be depended upon, and the *obſervations* juſt. It will be found, however, that I have enlarged this courſe ſince the ſyllabus of it was firſt printed, with many valuable articles, collected from works which have been publiſhed ſince, eſpecially *Dr. Smith on the Wealth of Nations*, and *Stuart's Principles of Political Œconomy*; and my wiſh is, that by the illuſtration of ſome general principles in ſuch works as theſe, I may excite in youth a deſire to become better acquainted with them.

Theſe lectures will be found to be of very unequal lengths, and the reaſon of this will not always appear. But this circumſtance is of little conſequence, either to the reader, or to any perſon who may think proper to make uſe of them in his own lecturing. My method, as in all my other lectures, was to read the text, and illuſtrate it by a familiar addreſs, queſtioning the pupils very particularly on the ſubject of the

the former lecture before I proceeded to a new one; and on ſome of the ſubjects I happened to have much more to ſay to them, and to inquire of them, than on others. Alſo, in going over the lectures a ſecond time, I paid little regard to the diviſions I had firſt made, but took in more or leſs matter, as I found convenient at the time; and this I would adviſe other lecturers to do.

The only courſe of lectures, compoſed and delivered while I was at Warrington, that I have any thoughts of publiſhing beſides this, is one on *the Theory of Language and Univerſal Grammar*, which was printed for the uſe of the ſtudents, but not publiſhed. If this be done at all, it will be in conjunction with the additions that Dr. Kippis made to it, when he did me the honour to make it his text-book at the Academy in Hoxton. This joint work I wiſh to remain as a monument of our friendſhip, and eſpecially of the gratitude I owe him for his kindneſs to me in a period in which I wanted a friend. He and Dr. Benſon were ſome of the firſt whom I could truly place in that claſs.*

* Dr. Kippis being now dead, and my attention having been long drawn from this ſubject, I have no longer any thoughts of publiſhing thoſe lectures; unleſs I ſhould find more leiſure for the purpoſe than I at preſent foreſee, and I ſhould live to complete various other ſchemes that I have in view. But at my time of life this can hardly be expected. Thoſe lectures were printed in 1762, which is now more than forty years ago.

The

The lectures on *Oratory and Criticiſm*, which I compoſed at Warrington, have been ſome time before the Public. In them I have made great uſe of Dr. Hartley's doctrine of *aſſociation of ideas*, which appears to me to ſupply an eaſy ſolution of almoſt all the difficulties attending this curious ſubject, and gives us ſolid maxims, inſtead of arbitrary fancy. In this extenſive application of the doctrine of aſſociation to the buſineſs of criticiſm, I think I have ſome claim to merit.

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AN

AN

ESSAY

ON A COURSE OF

LIBERAL EDUCATION

FOR CIVIL AND ACTIVE LIFE.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1764.

It ſeems to be a defect in our preſent ſyſtem of public education, that a proper courſe of ſtudies is not provided for gentlemen who are deſigned to fill the principal ſtations of *active life*, diſtinct from thoſe which are adapted to the *learned profeſſions*. We have hardly any medium between an education for the counting-houſe, conſiſting of writing, arithmetic, and merchants'-accounts, and a method of inſtitution in the abſtract ſciences: ſo that we have nothing liberal, that is worth the attention of *gentlemen*, whoſe views neither of theſe two oppoſite plans may ſuit.

Formerly, none but the clergy were thought to have any occaſion for learning. It was natural, therefore, that the whole plan of education, from the grammar-ſchool to the finiſhing at the univerſity, ſhould be calculated for their uſe. If a few other perſons, who were not deſigned for holy orders, offered themſelves for education, it could not be expected that a courſe of ſtudies ſhould be provided for them only. And, indeed, as all thoſe perſons who ſuperintended the buſineſs of education were of the clerical order, and had themſelves been taught nothing but the rhetoric, logic, and ſchool-divinity, or civil law, which comprized the whole compaſs of human learning for ſeveral centuries, it could not be expected that they ſhould entertain larger, or more liberal, views of education; and ſtill leſs, that they ſhould ſtrike out a courſe of ſtudy, for the uſe of men who were univerſally thought to have no need of ſtudy; and, of whom, few were ſo ſenſible of their own wants as to deſire any ſuch advantage.

Beſides, in thoſe days, the great ends of human ſociety ſeem to have been but little underſtood. Men of the greateſt rank, fortune, and influence, and who took the lead

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in all the affairs of ſtate, had no idea of the great objects of wiſe and extenſive policy; and therefore could never apprehend that any fund of knowledge was requiſite for the moſt eminent ſtations in the community. Few perſons imagined what were the true ſources of wealth, power, and happineſs in a nation. Commerce was little underſtood, or even attended to; and ſo ſlight was the connexion of the different nations of Europe, that general politics were very contracted. And thus, men's views being narrow, little previous furniture of mind was requiſite to conduct them.

The conſequence of all this was, that the advances which were made to a more perfect and improved ſtate of ſociety were very ſlow; and the preſent happier ſtate of things was brought about, rather by an accidental concurrence of circumſtances, than by any efforts of human wiſdom and foreſight. We ſee the hand of Divine Providence in thoſe revolutions which have gradually given a happier turn to affairs, while men have been the paſſive and blind inſtruments of their own felicity.

But the ſituation of things at preſent is vaſtly different from what it was two or three

centuries ago. The objects of human attention are prodigiously multiplied; the connexions of ſtates are extended; a reflection upon our preſent advantages, and the ſteps by which we have arrived to the degree of power and happineſs we now enjoy, has ſhown us the true ſources of them; and ſo thoroughly awakened are all the ſtates of Europe to a ſenſe of their true intereſts, that we are convinced, the ſame ſupine inattention with which affairs were formerly conducted is no longer ſafe; and that, without ſuperior degrees of wiſdom and vigour in political meaſures, every thing we have hitherto gained will infallibly be loſt, and be quickly transferred to our more intelligent and vigilant neighbours. In this critical poſture of affairs, more lights, and ſuperior induſtry, are requiſite, both to miniſters of ſtate, and to all perſons who have any influence in ſchemes of public and national advantage; and conſequently a different and a better furniture of mind is requiſite to be brought into the buſineſs of life.

This is certainly a call upon us to examine the ſtate of *education* in this country, and to conſider how thoſe years are employed which men paſs previous to their entering into the world: for upon this their future behaviour, and

and ſucceſs, muſt, in a great meaſure, depend. A tranſition, which is not eaſy, can never be made with advantage; and therefore it is certainly our wiſdom to contrive, that the ſtudies of youth ſhould tend to fit them for the buſineſs of manhood; and that the objects of their attention, and turn of thinking in younger life, ſhould not be too remote from the deſtined employment of their riper years. If this be not attended to, they muſt neceſſarily be mere novices upon entering the great world, be almoſt unavoidably embarraſſed in their conduct, and, after all the time and expence beſtowed upon their education, be indebted to a ſeries of blunders for the moſt uſeful knowledge they will ever acquire.

In what manner ſoever thoſe gentlemen who are not of any learned profeſſion, but who, in other capacities, have rendered the moſt important ſervices to their country, came by that knowledge which made them capable of it, I appeal to themſelves, whether any conſiderable ſhare of it was acquired till after they had finiſhed their ſtudies at the univerſity. So remote is the general courſe of ſtudy at places of the moſt liberal education among us from the buſineſs of *civil life*, that many gentlemen, who have had the moſt li-

beral education their country could afford, have looked upon the real advantage of ſuch an education as very problematical, and have either wholly diſpenſed with it in their own children; or, if they have ſent their ſons through the uſual circle of the ſchools, it has been chiefly through the influence of cuſtom and faſhion, or with a view to their forming connexions which might be uſeful to them in future life. This appears by the little ſolicitude they ſhow about their ſons being grounded in thoſe ſciences, in which they themſelves might poſſibly have been conſiderable proficients, when they applied to them; but which, from their being foreign to the buſineſs of life in which they were afterwards engaged, they have now wholly forgotten.

Indeed, the ſevere and proper diſcipline of a grammar-ſchool is become a common topic of ridicule; and few young gentlemen, except thoſe who are deſigned for ſome of the learned profeſſions, are made to ſubmit to the rigours of it. And it is manifeſt, that when no foundation is laid in a grammatical knowledge of the learned languages (which, in a large or public ſchool, cannot be done without very ſtrict diſcipline, and a ſevere application

cation on the part both of the maſter and ſcholar) youth can be but ill qualified to receive any advantage from an univerſity education. Young gentlemen themſelves ſo frequently hear the learning which is taught in ſchools and univerſities ridiculed, that they often make themſelves eaſy with giving a very ſuperficial attention to it; concluding, from the turn of converſation in the company they generally fall into, and which they expect to keep, that a few years will confound all diſtinction of learned and unlearned, and make it impoſſible to be known whether a man had improved his time at the univerſity or not.

Theſe evils certainly call for redreſs; and let a perſon be reckoned a projector, a viſionary, or whatever any body pleaſes, that man is a friend of his country who obſerves, and endeavours to ſupply, any defects in the methods of educating youth. A well-meaning and a ſenſible man may be miſtaken, but a good intention, eſpecially if it be not wholly unaccompanied with good ſenſe, ought to be exempted from cenſure. What has occurred to me upon this ſubject I ſhall, without any further apology, propoſe to my fellow-citizens, and fellow-tutors, hoping that

it will meet with a candid reception. It is true, I can boaſt no long or extenſive experience in the buſineſs of education, but I have not been a mere ſpectator in this ſcene; which, I hope, may exempt me from the ridicule and contempt which have almoſt ever fallen upon the ſchemes of thoſe perſons who have written only from their cloſets, and, without any experience, have raſhly attempted to handle this ſubject, in which, of all others, experiments only ought to guide theory; upon which hardly any thing worth attending to can be advanced *a priori;* and where the greateſt geniuſes, for want of experience, have been the greateſt viſionaries; laying ſchemes the leaſt capable of being reduced to practice, or the moſt abſurd if they *had* been put in practice.*

Let it be remembered, that the difficulty under preſent conſideration is, how to fill up with advantage thoſe years which immediately precede a young gentleman's engaging in thoſe higher ſpheres of active life in which

* Since this was written, which is near forty years ago, few perſons have had more to do in the buſineſs of education than myſelf; and what I then planned in theory, has been carried into execution by myſelf, and others with, I believe, univerſal approbation.

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he is deſtined to move. Within the department of *active life*, I ſuppoſe to be comprehended all thoſe ſtations in which a man's conduct will conſiderably affect the liberty and the property of his countrymen, and the riches, the ſtrength, and the ſecurity of his country; the firſt and moſt important ranks of which are filled by gentlemen of large property, who have themſelves the greateſt intereſt in the fate of their country, and who are within the influence of an honourable ambition to appear in the character of magiſtrates and legiſlators in the ſtate, or of ſtanding near the helm of affairs, and guiding the ſecret ſprings of government.

The profeſſion of Law, alſo, certainly comes within the above deſcription of civil and active life, if a man hope to be any thing more than a practiſing attorney; the profeſſion of arms, too, if a gentleman have any expectation of arriving at the higher ranks of military preferment; and the buſineſs of merchandiſe, if we look beyond the ſervile drudgery of the warehouſe or counting-houſe. Divines and phyſicians I conſider to be intereſted in this ſubject, only as gentlemen and general ſcholars, or as perſons who converſe, and have influence, with gentlemen engaged in

in active life, without any particular view to their reſpective profeſſions.

That the parents and friends of young gentlemen deſtined to act in any of theſe important ſpheres, may not think a liberal education unneceſſary to them, and that the young gentlemen themſelves may enter with ſpirit into the enlarged views of their friends and tutors; I would humbly propoſe ſome new articles of academical inſtruction, ſuch as have a nearer and more evident connexion with the buſineſs of active life, and which may therefore bid fairer to engage the attention, and rouſe the thinking powers, of young gentlemen of an active genius. The ſubjects I would recommend are CIVIL HISTORY, and more eſpecially, the important objects of CIVIL POLICY; ſuch as the theory of laws, government, manufactures, commerce, naval force, &c. with whatever may be demonſtrated from hiſtory to have contributed to the flouriſhing ſtate of nations, to rendering a people happy and populous at home, and formidable abroad; together with thoſe articles of previous information without which it is impoſſible to underſtand the nature, connexions, and mutual influences of thoſe great objects.

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To give a clearer idea of the ſubjects I would propoſe to the ſtudy of youth at places of public and liberal education, I have ſubjoined plans of three diſtinct courſes of lectures, which I apprehend, may be ſubſervient to this deſign, divided into ſuch portions as, experience has taught me, may be conveniently diſcuſſed in familiar lectures of an hour each.*

The firſt courſe is on the STUDY OF HISTORY in general, and in its moſt extenſive ſenſe. It will be ſeen to conſiſt of ſuch articles as tend to enable a young gentleman to read hiſtory with underſtanding, and to reap the moſt valuable fruits of that engaging ſtudy. I ſhall not go over the particulars of the courſe in this place: let the ſyllabus ſpeak for itſelf. Let it only be obſerved, that my view was, not merely to make hiſtory intelligible to perſons who may chooſe to read it for their amuſement; but principally, to facilitate its ſubſerviency to the higheſt uſes to which it can be applied; to contribute to its forming the able ſtateſman, and the intelli-

* Theſe *Syllabuſes* are not now annexed to this *Eſſay*, as they were at its firſt publication. That relating to the *Lectures on Hiſtory* will, of courſe, be contained in this work, and the publication of the two others was rendered unneceſſary for the reaſons already given in the Preface.

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gent and uſeful citizen. It is true, that this is compriſing a great deal more than the title of the courſe will ſuggeſt. But under the head of *objects of attention to a reader of hiſtory*, it was found convenient to diſcuſs the principal of thoſe ſubjects which every gentleman of a liberal education is expected to underſtand, though they do not generally fall under any diviſion of the ſciences in a courſe of academical education: and yet without a competent knowledge of theſe ſubjects, no perſon can be qualified to ſerve his country except in the loweſt capacities.

This courſe of lectures, it is alſo preſumed, will be found to contain a comprehenſive ſyſtem of that kind of knowledge which is peculiarly requiſite to gentlemen who intend to *travel*. For, ſince the great object of attention to a reader of hiſtory, and to a gentleman upon his travels, are evidently the ſame, it muſt be of equal ſervice to them both, to have their importance, and mutual influences, pointed out to them.

It will likewiſe be evident to any perſon who inſpects this ſyllabus, that the ſubject of COMMERCE has by no means been overlooked. And it is hoped, that when thoſe gentlemen, who are intended to ſerve themſelves and

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their country in the reſpectable character of merchants, have heard the great maxims of commerce diſcuſſed in a ſcientifical and connected manner, as they deſerve, they will not eaſily be influenced by notions adopted in a random and haſty manner, and from ſuperficial views of things: whereby they might, otherwiſe, be induced to enter into meaſures ſeemingly gainful at preſent, but in the end prejudicial to their country, and to themſelves and their poſterity, as members of it.

The next courſe of lectures, the plan of which is briefly delineated, is upon the HISTORY OF ENGLAND, and is deſigned to be an exemplification of the manner of ſtudying hiſtory recommended in the former courſe; in which the great uſes of it are ſhown, and the actual progreſs of every important object of attention diſtinctly marked, from the earlieſt accounts of the iſland to the preſent time.

To make young gentlemen ſtill more thoroughly acquainted with their own country, a third courſe of lectures (in connexion with the two others) is ſubjoined, viz. on its PRESENT CONSTITUTION AND LAWS. But the particular uſes of theſe two courſes of lectures need not be pointed out here, as they are ſufficiently

ſufficiently explained in the introductory addreſſes prefixed to each of them.

That an acquaintance with the ſubjects of theſe lectures is calculated to form the ſtateſman, the military commander, the lawyer, the merchant, and the accompliſhed country gentleman, cannot be diſputed. The principal objection that may be made to this ſcheme, is the introduction of theſe ſubjects into academies, and ſubmitting them to the examination of youth, of the age at which they are uſually ſent to ſuch places of education. It will be ſaid by ſome, that theſe ſubjects are too deep and too intricate, for their tender age and weak intellects; and that, after all, it can be no more than an outline of theſe great branches of knowledge that can be communicated to youth.

To prevent being miſunderſtood, let it be obſerved, that I would not propoſe that this courſe of ſtudies ſhould be entered upon by a young gentleman till he be ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age, or at leaſt, and only in ſome particular caſes, fifteen years; at which time of life, it is well known to all perſons concerned in the education of youth, that their faculties have attained a conſiderable degree of ripeneſs, and that, by proper addreſs, they are

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as capable of entering into any ſubject of ſpeculation as they ever will be. What is there in any of the ſubjects mentioned above, which requires more acuteneſs, or comprehenſion, than algebra, geometry, logic, or metaphyſics; to which ſtudents are generally made to apply about the ſame age?

And if it be only an outline of political and commercial knowledge, &c. that can be acquired in the method I propoſe; let it be obſerved, that it is nothing more than the rudiments of any ſcience that can be taught in a place of education. The maſter of ſcience is a character of which nothing more than the outline is ever drawn at an Academy, or the Univerſity. It is never finiſhed but by aſſiduous and long-continued application afterwards. And ſuppoſing that only the firſt rudiments, the grand, plain, and leading maxims of policy, with reſpect to arts, arms, commerce, &c. be communicated to a young gentleman, if they be ſuch maxims as he is really deſtined to purſue in life, is it not better that he have ſome knowledge of them communicated early, and at a time when it is likely to make the deepeſt and moſt laſting impreſſion, than to be thrown into the practice without any regular theory at all? It

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is freely acknowledged, that the man of buſineſs is not to be finiſhed at an academy, any more than the man of ſcience. This character is not the child of inſtruction and theory only; but, on the other hand, neither is it the mere offspring of practice without inſtruction. And, certainly, if a knowledge of theſe ſubjects be of any uſe, the earlier they are attended to (after a perſon is capable of attending to them to any purpoſe) and the more regular is the method in which they are taught, the greater chance there is for their being thoroughly underſtood.

When ſubjects which have a connexion are explained in a regular ſyſtem, every article is placed where the moſt light is reflected upon it from the neighbouring ſubjects. The plaineſt things are diſcuſſed in the firſt place, and are made to ſerve as axioms, and the foundation of thoſe which are treated of afterwards. Without this regular method of ſtudying the elements of any ſcience, it ſeems impoſſible ever to gain a clear and comprehenſive view of it. But after a regular inſtitution, any particular part of a plan of inſtruction may be enlarged at any time, with eaſe, and without confuſion. With how much more eaſe and diſtinctneſs would a perſon

perſon be able to deliver himſelf upon any ſubject of policy, or commerce, who had had every thing belonging to it explained to him in its proper connexion, than another perſon of equal abilities, who ſhould only have conſidered the ſubject in a random manner, reading any treatiſe that might happen to fall in his way, or adopting his maxims from the company he might accidentally keep, and, conſequently, liable to be impoſed upon by the intereſted views with which men very often both write and ſpeak. For theſe are ſubjects, on which almoſt every writer or ſpeaker is to be ſuſpected; ſo much has party and intereſt to do with every thing relating to them.

Since, however, theſe ſubjects do enter into all ſenſible converſation, eſpecially with gentlemen engaged in civil life, it is a circumſtance extremely favourable to the ſtudy of them, that converſation will come greatly in aid of the lectures the young gentlemen hear upon them. It cannot fail to rouſe their attention, and increaſe their application to their ſtudies, when they hear the ſubjects of them diſcuſſed by their fathers, and the elder part of their friends and acquaintance, for whoſe underſtanding and turn of thinking they have conceived a great eſteem. They will

liſten with greater attention to grave and judicious perſons, and become much more fond of their company, when they are able to underſtand their converſation, and to enter occaſionally into it; when they can ſay, that ſuch a ſentiment, or fact, was advanced in their lectures, and that one of their fellow-pupils, or themſelves, made ſuch a remark upon it. It is no wonder, that many young gentlemen give but little attention to their preſent ſtudies, when they find that the ſubjects of them are never diſcuſſed in any ſenſible converſation, to which they are ever admitted. If ſtudying theſe ſubjects only ſerve to give the generality of young gentlemen a taſte for converſing upon them, and qualify them to appear to tolerable advantage in ſuch converſations, the variety of lights, in which they are viewed upon thoſe occaſions, cannot fail to make them more generally underſtood: and the better theſe ſubjects are underſtood by the bulk of the nation, the more probable it is that the nation will be benefited by ſuch knowledge.

If I were aſked, what branches of knowledge a young gentleman ſhould, in my judgment, be maſter of, before he can ſtudy this courſe with advantage; I would anſwer, that a knowledge

a knowledge of the learned languages is not abſolutely neceſſary, but is very deſirable; eſpecially ſuch an inſight into Latin as may enable a perſon to read the eaſier claſſics, and ſuperſede the uſe of a dictionary, with reſpect to thoſe more difficult Engliſh words which are derived from the Latin. The ſtudent of this courſe ſhould underſtand French very well, he ſhould alſo be a pretty good accomptant, be acquainted with the more uſeful branches of practical mathematics; and, if poſſible, have ſome knowledge of algebra and geometry, which ought to be indiſpenſable in every plan of liberal education.

Some will be ready to object to theſe ſtudies, that a turn for ſpeculation unfits men for buſineſs. I anſwer, that nothing is more true, if thoſe ſpeculations be foreign to their employment. It is readily acknowledged, that a turn for poetry and the belles lettres might hurt a tradeſman, that the ſtudy of natural philoſophy might interfere with the practice of the law, and metaphyſics and the abſtract ſciences with the duty of a ſoldier. But it can never be ſaid that a counſellor can be unfitted for his practice by a taſte for the ſtudy of the law; or that a commander would be the worſe ſoldier for ſtudying books written on

the art of war: nor can it be ſuppoſed that a merchant would do leſs buſineſs, or to worſe purpoſe, for having acquired a fondneſs for ſuch writers as have beſt explained the principles of trade and commerce, and for being qualified to read them with underſtanding and judgment.

It muſt be allowed, that the mechanical parts of any employment will be beſt performed by perſons who have no knowledge, or idea, of any thing beyond the mere practice. When a man's faculties are wholly employed upon one ſingle thing, it is more probable that he will make himſelf completely maſter of it; and, having no farther or higher views, he will more contentedly, and more cheerfully, give his whole time to his proper object. But no man who can afford the expence of a liberal education, enters upon any buſineſs with a view to ſpend his whole life in the mere mechanical part of it, and in performing a taſk impoſed on him. A man of ſpirit will laudably aſpire to be a maſter in his turn; when he muſt be directed by his own lights, and when he will find himſelf miſerably bewildered, if he have acquired no more knowledge than was ſufficient for him while he followed the direction of others.

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Beſides, in the caſe of merchandiſe, if one branch fail, there is no reſource but in more extenſive knowledge. A man who has been uſed to go only in one beaten track, and who has had no idea given him of any other, for fear of his being tempted to leave it, will be wholly at a loſs when it happens that that track can be no longer uſed; while a perſon who has a general idea of the whole courſe of the country may be able to ſtrike out another, and perhaps a better road than the former.

I am aware of a different kind of objection, from another quarter, which it behoves me not to overlook. The advocates for the old plan of education, and who diſlike innovations in the number, or the diſtribution, of the ſciences in which lectures are given, may object to the admiſſion of theſe ſtudies, as in danger of attracting the attention of thoſe ſtudents who are deſigned for the learned profeſſions; and thereby interfering too much with that which has been found, by the experience of generations, to be the beſt for ſcholars, the proper ſubjects of which are ſufficient to fill up all their time, without theſe ſupernumerary articles. I anſwer, that the ſubjects of theſe lectures are by no means neceſſary articles of a mere ſcholaſtic education; but that they

are ſuch as ſcholars ought to have ſome acquaintance with; and that without ſome acquaintance with them, they muſt, on many occaſions, appear to great diſadvantage in the preſent ſtate of knowledge.

Time was when ſcholars might, with a good grace, diſclaim all pretenſions to any branch of knowledge but what was taught in the univerſities. Perhaps they would be the more revered by the vulgar on account of ſuch ignorance, as an argument of their being more abſtracted from the world. Few books were written but by critics and antiquaries, for the uſe of men like themſelves. The literati of thoſe days had comparatively little free intercourſe but among themſelves; the learned world, and the common world, being much more diſtinct from one another than they are now. Scholars by profeſſion read, wrote, and converſed in no language but the Roman. They would have been aſhamed to have expreſſed themſelves in bad Latin, but not in the leaſt of being guilty of any impropriety in the uſe of their mother tongue, which they conſidered as belonging only to the vulgar.

But thoſe times of revived antiquity have had their uſe, and are now no more. We

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are obliged to the learned labours of our forefathers for ſearching into all the remains of antiquity, and illuſtrating valuable ancient authors; but their maxims of life will not ſuit the world as it is at preſent. The politeneſs of the times has brought the learned and the unlearned into more familiar intercourſe than they had before. They find themſelves obliged to converſe upon the ſame topics. The ſubjects of modern hiſtory, policy, arts, manufactures, commerce, &c. are the general topics of all ſenſible converſation. Every thing is ſaid in our own tongue, little is even written in a foreign or dead language; and every Britiſh author is ſtudious of writing with propriety in his native Engliſh. Criticiſm, which was formerly the great buſineſs of a ſcholar's life, is now become the amuſement of a leiſure hour, and this but to a few; ſo that a hundredth part of the time which was formerly given to criticiſm and antiquities is enough, in this age, to gain a man the character of a profound ſcholar. The topics of ſenſible converſation are likewiſe the favourite ſubjects of all the capital writings of the preſent age, which are read with equal avidity by gentlemen, merchants, lawyers, phyſicians, and divines.

Now, when the courſe of reading, thinking, and converſation, even among ſcholars, is become ſo very different from what it was, is it not reaſonable that the plan of even ſcholaſtic education ſhould, in ſome meaſure, vary with it? The neceſſity of the thing has already, in many inſtances, forced a change; and the ſame increaſing neceſſity will either force a greater and more general change, or we muſt not be ſurpriſed to find our ſchools, academies, and univerſities deſerted, as wholly unfit to qualify men to appear with advantage in the preſent age.

In many private ſchools and academies, we find ſeveral things taught now, which were never made the ſubjects of ſyſtematical inſtruction in former times; and in thoſe of our univerſities, in which it is the intereſt of the tutors to make their lectures of real uſe to their pupils, and where lectures are not mere matters of form, the profeſſors find the neceſſity of delivering themſelves in Engliſh. And the evident propriety of the thing muſt neceſſarily make this practice more general, notwithſtanding the moſt ſuperſtitious regard to eſtabliſhed cuſtoms.

But let the profeſſors conduct themſelves by what maxims they pleaſe, the ſtudents will,

will, of courſe, be influenced by the taſte of the company they keep in the world at large, to which young gentlemen in this age have an earlier admiſſion than they had formerly. How can it be expected that the preſent ſet of ſtudents for divinity ſhould apply to the ſtudy of the dead languages with the aſſiduity of their fathers and grandfathers, when they find ſo many of the uſes of thoſe languages no longer ſubſiſting? What can they think it will avail them to make the purity of the Latin ſtyle their principal ſtudy, for ſeveral years of the moſt improveable part of their life, when they are ſenſible, that they ſhall have little more occaſion for it than other gentlemen, or than perſons in common life, when they have left the univerſity? And how can it be otherwiſe, but that their private reading and ſtudies ſhould ſometimes be different from the courſe of their public inſtructions when the favourite authors of the public, the merits of whom they hear diſcuſſed in every company, even by their tutors themſelves, write upon quite different ſubjects?

In ſuch a ſtate of things, the advantage of a regular ſyſtematical inſtruction in thoſe ſubjects, which are treated of in books that

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in fact engage the attention of all the world, the learned leaſt of all excepted, and which enter into all converſations, where it is worth a man's while to bear a part, or to make a figure, cannot be doubted. And I am of opinion, that theſe ſtudies may be conducted in ſuch a manner, as will interfere very little with a ſufficiently cloſe application to others. Students in medicine and divinity may be admitted to theſe ſtudies later than thoſe for whoſe real uſe in life they are principally intended; not till they be ſufficiently grounded in the claſſics, have ſtudied logic, oratory, and criticiſm, or any thing elſe that may be deemed uſeful, previous to thoſe ſtudies which are peculiar to their reſpective profeſſions; and even then, theſe new ſtudies may be made a matter of amuſement, rather than an article of buſineſs.

With reſpect to divines, it ought moreover to be conſidered, that the ſame revolutions in the ſtate of knowledge, which call their attention to theſe new ſtudies have, in a great meaſure, furniſhed them with *time* for their application to them; by releaſing them from ſeveral ſubjects, the ſtudy of which was formerly the great buſineſs of divines, and engroſſed almoſt their whole time.

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And though new ſubjects have been ſtarted within the province of divinity, it does not appear to me, that they require ſo much time and application as was uſually given to thoſe other ſtudies, the uſe of which is now ſuperſeded. I mean, principally, ſchool-divinity, and the canon law; not to mention logic and metaphyſics, which were formerly a more intricate buſineſs, and took up much more time, than they do now.

Let a perſon but look over the table of contents to the works of Thomas Aquinas, which were read, ſtudied, or commented upon, by all divines a few centuries ago, and he will be convinced, that it muſt have required both more acuteneſs to comprehend the ſubjects of them, and more time to ſtudy and digeſt them in any tolerable manner, than it would require to become exceedingly well verſed in all the branches of knowledge I would now recommend.

The canon law was not leſs complex than both the common and ſtatute law of England, and every clergyman of eminence was under a neceſſity of underſtanding, not only the general principles and theory of that ſyſtem, but even the minutiæ of the practice. Good ſenſe, and a free acceſs to the ſcriptures,

tures, have at length (aſſiſted, perhaps, by an averſion to abſtract ſpeculations) thrown down the whole fabric of ſchool-divinity, and the riſe of the civil above the eccleſiaſtical power in this realm has reduced the theory and practice of the Engliſh canon law within very narrow bounds. And as to the little that now remains in uſe, very few clergymen need trouble themſelves about it.

In this country a knowledge of the *canon law* cannot be ſaid to be of any uſe, and that of the *civil law* of the Romans can only be intereſting to curious and ſpeculative perſons, having no connexion with any laws in the United States.

It is acknowledged, that the attention of ſtudents in theology, and other learned profeſſions, is much engaged by mathematical and philoſophical ſtudies which have been cultivated of late years. I rejoice in ſo valuable an acceſſion to human ſcience, and would be far from ſhortening the time that is given to them in places of liberal education. I rather wiſh there were more room for thoſe ſtudies in ſuch places, and better proviſion for teaching them. But, notwithſtanding this, there is room enough for a ſmall portion of time and attention to be given to the ſubjects I would

I would here recommend; and it is not much of either that I would plead for, in the caſe of gentlemen intended for the learned profeſſions.

The method in which theſe lectures may be taught to the moſt advantage, I apprehend to be the following; and experience has in ſome meaſure formed my judgment in this caſe.

Let the lecturer have a pretty full text before him, digeſted with care, containing not only a method of diſcourſing upon the ſubjects, but alſo all the principal *arguments* he adduces, and all the leading *facts* he makes uſe of to ſupport his hypotheſis. Let this text be the ſubject of a regular, but familiar diſcourſe, not exceeding an hour at a time; with a claſs not exceeding twenty, or thirty. Let the lecturer give his pupils all encouragement to enter occaſionally into the converſation, by propoſing queries, or making any objections, or remarks, that may occur to them. Let all the ſtudents have an opportunity of peruſing this text, if not of copying it, in the intervals between the lectures, and let near half of the time for lecturing be ſpent in receiving from the ſtudents a minute account of the particulars of the preceding lecture, and

and in explaining any difficulties they might have met with in it; in order that no ſubject be quitted, till the tutor be morally certain that his pupils thoroughly underſtand it.

Upon every ſubject of importance, let the tutor make references to the principal authors who have treated of it; and if the ſubject be a controverted one, let him refer to books written on both ſides of the queſtion. Of theſe references, let the tutor occaſionally require an account, and ſometimes a written abſtract. Laſtly, let the tutor ſelect a proper number of the moſt important queſtions that can ariſe from the ſubject of the lectures, and let them be propoſed to the ſtudents as exerciſes, to be treated in the form of orations, theſes, or diſſertations, as he ſhall think fit. Moreover, if he judge it convenient, let him appoint rewards to thoſe who ſhall handle the ſubject in the moſt judicious manner.

Young gentlemen deſigned for the learned profeſſions need not be put upon theſe exerciſes, or reading all the authors referred to. It may be ſufficient for them to attend the lectures as they are delivered. And as I would not adviſe that the lectures be given with ſhorter intervals between them than three days, they cannot interfere much with their application to their proper ſtudies.

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I think I could aſſign very ſatisfactory reaſons for each of the directions I have laid down above, but I flatter myſelf they will ſuggeſt themſelves; if not upon the bare peruſal, at leaſt upon any attempt to reduce them to practice. I ſhall only take notice of an objection that may be made to one particular article in this method.

Some may object to the encouragement I would give the ſtudents to propoſe objections at the time of lecturing. This cuſtom, they may ſay, will tend to interrupt the courſe of the lecture, and promote a ſpirit of impertinence and conceit in young perſons. I anſwer, that every inconvenience of this kind may be obviated by the *manner* in which a tutor delivers himſelf in lecturing. A proper mixture of dignity and freedom (which are ſo far from being incompatible, that they mutually ſet off one another) will prevent, or repreſs, all impertinent and unſeaſonable remarks, at the ſame time that it will encourage thoſe which are modeſt and pertinent.

But ſuppoſe a lecturer ſhould not be able immediately to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to an objection that might be ſtarted by a ſenſible ſtudent. He muſt be conſcious of his having made very ridiculous pretenſions, and having given

given himſelf improper airs, if it give him any pain to tell his claſs, that he will reconſider a ſubject; or even to acknowledge himſelf miſtaken. It depends wholly upon a tutor's general diſpoſition, and his uſual manner of addreſs, whether he loſe, or gain, ground in the eſteem of his pupils by ſuch a declaration. Every tutor ought to have conſidered the ſubjects on which he gives lectures with attention; but no man can be expected to be infallible. For my own part, I would not forego the pleaſure, and advantage, which accrue, both to my pupils and to myſelf, from this method, together with the opportunity it gives me of improving my lectures, by means of the many uſeful hints which are often ſtarted in this familiar way of diſcourſing upon a ſubject, for any inconvenience I have yet found to attend it, or that I can imagine may poſſibly attend it.

I cannot help flattering myſelf, that were the ſtudies I have here recommended generally introduced into places of liberal education, the conſequence might be happy for this country in ſome future period. Many of the political evils, under which this, and every country in the world, labour, are not owing to any want of a love for our country, but to

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an ignorance of its real conſtitution and intereſts. Beſides, the very circumſtance of giving that attention which I would recommend to its conſtitution and intereſts, would unavoidably beget a love and affection for them; and might, perhaps, contribute more to produce, propagate, and inflame, a ſpirit of patriotiſm than any other circumſtance. And certainly, if there be the moſt diſtant proſpect of this valuable end being gained by an application to theſe ſtudies, it cannot fail to recommend them to every true lover of his country, in an age in which the minds of ſo many are blinded, and miſled, by a ſpirit of faction; and, what is more alarming, when a taſte for luxury and expence is ſo high, that there is reaſon to fear it may, in many caſes, be ſuperior to all other regards; and when, in many breaſts, it already apparently threatens the utter extinction of a ſpirit of patriotiſm.

What was it that made the Greeks, the Romans in early ages, and other nations of antiquity, ſuch obſtinate patriots, that they had even no idea of any obligation ſuperior to a regard for their country, but that the conſtant wars they were obliged to maintain with the neighbouring nations kept the idea

of their country perpetually in view, and always oppoſed to that of other nations? It is the ſame circumſtance that gives our common ſoldiers and ſeamen more of the genuine ſpirit of patriotiſm than is felt by any other order of men in the community, notwithſtanding they have the leaſt intereſt in it. Now the courſe of inſtruction I would introduce, would bring the idea of our country more early into the minds of Britiſh youth, and habituate them to a conſtant and cloſe attention to it. And why ſhould not the practice of thinking, reading, converſing, and writing about the intereſt of our country, anſwer the ſame purpoſe with the moderns, that fighting for it did among the ancients?

It is a circumſtance of particular conſequence, that this enthuſiaſtic love for our country would by this means be imbibed by perſons of fortune, rank, and influence, in whom it might be effectual to the moſt important purpoſes; who might have it in their power, not only to wiſh well to their country, but to render it the greateſt real ſervices. Such men would not only, as is the caſe with private ſoldiers or ſeamen, be able to employ the force of a ſingle arm in its defence, but might animate the hearts, and engage the hands

hands of thouſands in its cauſe. Of what unſpeakable advantage might be one miniſter of ſtate, one military commander, or even a ſingle member of parliament, who thoroughly underſtood the intereſts of his country, and who poſtponed every other intereſt and conſideration to it!

This is not teaching politics to low mechanics and manufacturers, or encouraging the ſtudy of it among perſons with whom it could be of no ſervice to their country, and often a real detriment to themſelves; though we may ſee in thoſe perſons, how poſſible it is for the public paſſions to ſwallow up all the private ones, when the objects of them are kept frequently in view, and are much dwelt upon in the mind. The ſame zeal that is the ſubject of ridicule in perſons of no weight or influence in the ſtate, would be moſt glorious and happy for their country in a more advantageous ſituation.

Some may perhaps object to theſe ſtudies, as giving too much encouragement to that turn for politics, which they may think is already immoderate in the lower and middle ranks of men among us. But muſt not political knowledge be communicated to thoſe to whom it may be of real uſe, becauſe a

fondneſs for the ſtudy may extend beyond its proper bounds, and be catched by ſome perſons who had better remain ignorant of it? Beſides, it ought to be conſidered, that how ridiculous ſoever ſome may make themſelves by pretenſions to politics, a true friend of liberty will be cautious how he diſcourages a fondneſs for that kind of knowledge, which has ever been the favourite ſubject of writing and converſation in all free ſtates. Only tyrants, and the friends of arbitrary power, have ever taken umbrage at a turn for political knowledge, and political diſcourſes, among even the loweſt of the people. Men will ſtudy, and converſe about what they are intereſted in, eſpecially if they have any influence; and though the aſs in the fable was in no concern who was his maſter, ſince he could but carry his uſual load; and though the ſubjects of a deſpotic monarch need not trouble themſelves about political diſputes and intrigues, which never terminate in a change of meaſures, but only of men; yet, in a free country, where even private perſons have much at ſtake, every man is nearly intereſted in the conduct of his ſuperiors, and cannot be an unconcerned ſpectator of what is tranſacted by them. With reſpect to influence,

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the ſentiments of the loweſt vulgar in England are not wholly inſignificant, and a wiſe miniſter will ever pay ſome attention to them.

It is our wiſdom, therefore, to provide that all perſons who have any influence in political meaſures be well inſtructed in the great and leading principles of wiſe policy. This is certainly an object of the greateſt importance. Inconveniencies ever attend a general application to any kind of knowledge, and no doubt will attend this. But they are inconveniencies which a friend to liberty need be under no apprehenſions about.

What is ſaid in this Eſſay to recommend the ſtudy of the principles of general policy to Engliſhmen, is much more applicable to Americans, as every individual has much more influence in public meaſures. In fact, the greateſt attention is actually given to them by almoſt all perſons in the United States. It is, therefore, the more neceſſary that they be well inſtructed in the true principles of government and general policy, that they may be the better qualified to give their votes on public occaſions with real judgment, and without prejudice, to which members of free ſtates are peculiarly liable; every competitor for power having an intereſt in biaſſing others

in favour of himſelf, and his peculiar principles.

I may poſſibly promiſe myſelf too much, from the general introduction of the ſtudies I have recommended in this Eſſay into places of liberal education; but a little enthuſiaſm is always excuſable in perſons who propoſe and recommend uſeful innovations. I have endeavoured to repreſent the ſtate of education in this view as clearly and as fully as I have been able; and I deſire my propoſals for emendations to have no more weight than the faireſt repreſentation will give them, in the minds of the cool and the unbiaſſed.

LECTURE I.

Why Hiſtory is ſo generally pleaſing and intereſting. Hiſtory ſerves to amuſe the Imagination, and intereſt the Paſſions. Advantage of Hiſtory above Fiction. It improves the Underſtanding, and fits Men for the Buſineſs of Life. Some Advantages of Hiſtory above Experience. Peculiarly uſeful to Princes. Facts eſſential to all Knowledge. Political Knowledge uſeful in every Station of Life. Hiſtory frees the Mind from many Prejudices, and particularly national Prejudices. The Uſe of Hiſtory to the Ladies. All Improvement in the Science of Government derived from Hiſtory.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE ſtudy of Hiſtory is more or leſs the employment of all perſons of reading and education. This was, indeed, the earlieſt uſe that was made of letters. For the moſt ancient poems were almoſt entirely hiſtorical; and verſe was firſt cultivated in preference to proſe (which ſeems to be the moſt natural vehicle of hiſtory) as the beſt, becauſe the moſt ſecure method of tranſmitting to poſterity the knowledge of paſt events. In all ages the writing of hiſtory has employed the

ableſt men of all nations; and to this day hardly any writer enjoys a greater, a more extenſive, and what will probably be a more laſting reputation, than a good hiſtorian.

The infinite variety there is in the ſubjects of hiſtory, makes it inviting to perſons of every diſpoſition. It may be either trifling or ſerious. It ſupplies materials with equal eaſe, and equal copiouſneſs, for the ſallies of mirth, and the graveſt diſquiſitions of philoſophy. As every thing comes under the denomination of *hiſtory*, which informs us of any *fact* which is too remote in time, or place, to be the ſubject of our perſonal knowledge; it is calculated for the uſe of perſons of both ſexes, and of men of all ranks and of all profeſſions in life. Becauſe it cannot be preſumed that a perſon of any profeſſion, or in any ſituation, can, of himſelf, come at the knowledge of every fact which it is for his advantage to be acquainted with.

Hiſtory is ſo connected with, and eſſential to, all kinds of knowledge, that the moſt ſuperficial eſſay upon any ſubject whatever is hardly tolerable, unleſs ſome kind of hiſtorical facts be introduced, or alluded to in it. The neceſſity of facts to moral writers, or thoſe who write upon the theory of human nature,

nature, I need not mention. And certainly no perſon can be a good divine, much leſs undertake any part of the controverſy with unbelievers, unleſs he be very well acquainted with hiſtory, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical. Indeed, more than half of the books of ſcripture conſiſt of hiſtory. And as all the prophecies of the Old and New Teſtament muſt be verified by hiſtory, none but a good hiſtorian can be a judicious commentator upon ſuch important parts of the ſacred writings.

Beſides, an acquaintance with hiſtory is agreeable to us as ſociable and converſable creatures; ſince it may be conſidered as a means of extending the power of converſation, and making the dead of the party equally with the living. Nay, as things are circumſtanced, the dead contribute more largely to gratify our natural and eager curioſity to be informed of paſt and remote tranſactions.

In this field of hiſtory, therefore, which is open to every man of letters, and in which every man of taſte and curioſity cannot fail to paſs a great part of his leiſure hours, it cannot but be deſirable to have a guide (at leaſt upon a perſon's firſt introduction into it) leſt he ſhould loſe himſelf in the boundleſs variety

variety it affords, and not be able to find thoſe convenient eminences from which he will have the moſt eaſy and agreeable view of the objects it contains. In the character of this guide, Gentlemen, I now offer you my beſt aſſiſtance.

The courſe of lectures we are now entering upon is intended to facilitate the ſtudy of hiſtory, both by directing you to the eaſieſt methods of *acquiring* and *retaining* the knowledge of it, and making the proper *uſe* of it when you are poſſeſſed of it.

That the obſervations I have collected for this purpoſe may be the moſt intelligible and uſeful, I ſhall diſpoſe of them in the following method; conſidering,

I. The general uſes of hiſtory.

II. The ſources of hiſtory.

III. What is neceſſary, or uſeful, to be known previous to the ſtudy of hiſtory.

IV. Directions for the more eaſy acquiring and retaining a knowledge of hiſtory.

V. Proper objects of attention to an hiſtorian. And under this head I ſhall conſider the ſeveral ſubjects of *general policy*, or the circumſtances that chiefly contribute to render civil ſocieties ſecure, numerous, and happy, as being the moſt important of all objects of attention to readers of hiſtory.

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VI. In the laſt place I would give you a general view of hiſtory civil and eccleſiaſtical, but ſhall content myſelf with referring to Holberg, or ſome other epitome of general hiſtory.

PART I.

ACCORDING to the method above laid down, I am firſt to conſider the general *uſes* of hiſtory. Theſe may be exhibited under three heads 1. Hiſtory ſerves to amuſe the imagination, and intereſt the paſſions in general. 2. It improves the underſtanding. And 3. It tends to ſtrengthen the ſentiments of virtue.

The firſt and loweſt uſe of hiſtory, is that it agreeably amuſes the imagination, and intereſts the paſſions. With theſe charms hiſtory captivates the generality of readers; and though I ſhall chiefly recommend it in another and an higher view, I think this is an advantage of hiſtory which is by no means inconſiderable, and by which a reader of the ſevereſt philoſophy, need not be aſhamed to acknowledge himſelf influenced. To amuſe the imagination, and give play to the paſſions in general, is almoſt the only and avowed ſcope of all works of *fiction*, both in proſe and

and verſe; and men of great genius and abilities are not thought to have thrown away their time to no purpoſe upon them. Whatever *exerciſes*, does likewiſe *improve* and invigorate our faculties, and diſpoſe them for the more free and perfect diſcharge of their proper functions. Admitting, therefore, that the hiſtories of Alexander the Great, of Charles XII. of Sweden, or the conqueſt of Mexico, be read with no other view than the adventures of Telemachus, of Amadis de Gaul, or the conqueſt of Jeruſalem; or that the voyages of Dampier, Sir Francis Drake, and Captain Cooke, be put upon the ſame footing with thoſe of Gulliver; I would not ſay the time ſpent in reading them was wholly loſt. Whatever valuable impreſſions are made upon the mind by fictitious adventures, the ſame, in kind, though perhaps, generally, not equal in degree, are made by real adventures; and *facts* with whatever view, and in whatever manner, treaſured up in the mind, are ready to be applied to any farther and higher uſes that they are capable of, whenever the perſon who is poſſeſſed of them is diſpoſed to view them in any other light.

In this view all true hiſtory has a capital advantage over every work of fiction. Works of

of fiction are not, in their nature, capable, in general, of any other uſes than the authors of them had in view, which muſt neceſſarily be very limited; whereas true hiſtory, being an exhibition of the conduct of divine Providence; in which every thing has, perhaps, infinite relations and uſes, is an inexhauſtible mine of the moſt valuable knowledge. Works of fiction reſemble thoſe machines which we contrive to illuſtrate the principles of philoſophy, ſuch as globes, and orreries, the uſes of which extend no farther than the views of human ingenuity; whereas real hiſtory reſembles the experiments made by the air pump, the condenſing engine, or electrical machine, which exhibit the operations of nature, and the God of nature himſelf, whoſe works are the nobleſt ſubject of contemplation to the human mind, and are the ground work and materials of the moſt extenſive and uſeful theories.

But, independent of any farther uſe, we have many well written hiſtories, which, I think, are calculated to give as much pure entertainment, eſpecially to a perſon of a reaſonable age and experience, as the generality of novels and romances. Let a perſon of taſte, and juſt ſentiment, read the hiſtory of the

the life of Cicero written by Middleton, the conqueſt of Mexico, or the voyage of Commodore Anſon, or even ſuch larger works as the hiſtories of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Philip de Comines, &c. and then judge. If the amazing and intereſting ſcenes of fiction be worked up with more art, be more happily diſpoſed to excite and intereſt the paſſions, and be more agreeably diverſified with proper epiſodes, the very thought that it is *fiction* (the influence of which grows with our years) makes that artful diſpoſition, and thoſe embelliſhments, neceſſary; whereas the mere thought that we are liſtening to the voice of *truth* is able to keep the attention awake through many a dry and ill digeſted narrative of *facts*.

The next, and higher uſe of hiſtory is to improve the underſtanding, and ſtrengthen the judgment, and thereby fit us for entering upon life with advantage. "By ſtudying "hiſtory," as Lord Bolingbroke well obſerves, "and examining all kinds of cauſes and ef- "fects, a man may ſharpen his penetration, "fix the attention of his mind, and ſtrengthen "his judgment. Thus he acquires a faculty "and habit of diſcerning quicker, and learns "how to exert that flexibility and ſteadineſs,

"which

"which are neceſſary to be joined in the "conduct of all affairs that depend on the "concurrence, or oppoſition, of other men." Judgment, as well as our other powers, muſt improve by exerciſe. Now hiſtory preſents us with the ſame objects which we meet with in the buſineſs of life. They muſt conſequently excite the ſame kind of reflections, and give the ſame exerciſe to our thoughts, and thus produce the ſame turn of mind. Hiſtory, therefore, may be called anticipated experience. By this means we begin our acquaintance with mankind ſooner, and bring into the world, and the buſineſs of it, ſuch a caſt of thought, and temper of mind, as is acquired by paſſing through it; which will make us appear to more advantage in it, and not ſuch mere novices, upon our introduction into it, as we ſhould otherwiſe be. As Lord Bolingbroke again obſerves, "He who "ſtudies hiſtory as he would philoſophy, "will diſtinguiſh and collect certain general "principles, and rules of life and conduct, "which always muſt be true; becauſe they "are conformable to the invariable nature "of things; and by doing ſo he will ſoon "form to himſelf a general ſyſtem of ethics "and politics on the ſureſt foundations, on "the

" the trial of theſe principles and rules in all " ages, and on the confirmation of them by " univerſal experience."

The impreſſions which this anticipated knowledge of the world makes upon us, it is certain, will not be ſo deep as thoſe which are the reſult of our own perſonal acquaintance with it; and our judgment of things, and maxims of conduct, formed in this manner, will not be ſo firmly rivcted in our minds. But then they will have the advantage of being more correct, and of being a better guide to us, than any thing we could have learned from our own random experience, upon our entering the world. The reaſon is, that the examples which hiſtory preſents to us are generally *complete*. The whole is before us. We ſee men and things at their full length, as we may ſay; and we likewiſe generally ſee them through a medium which is leſs partial than that of experience. Whereas in real life every ſcene opens very ſlowly, we ſee therefore but a very ſmall part of a thing at one time; and are conſequently liable to be deceived into a very fallacious judgment of it; particularly conſidering how diſtorted even thoſe imperfect views of things are by the relation of every thing to *ſelf*,

ſelf, which it is impoſſible to keep out of ſight in things in which we ourſelves are concerned.

In this view, hiſtory is generally the only faithful inſtructor of princes, particularly abſolute princes. It is ſo much the intereſt of abler men than themſelves to impoſe upon them, and to ſwell their ideas of their own importance, that, without the aid of hiſtory, it is almoſt impoſſible they ſhould ever form any juſt notion of men, or things, at all. But in hiſtory princes may ſee their predeceſſors treated without flattery or ceremony; and, therefore, by the help of common ſenſe they may ſee, as in a glaſs, in what light their own characters and conduct will appear to poſterity. Nay, they may depend upon it, that ſome hiſtorians will rate them as much too low, as their contemporaries have rated them too high. Of what avail have been the fulſome flatteries of Velleius Paterculus to the character of Tiberius, or his favourite Sejanus; or even the refined praiſes of Virgil and Horace to the character of Auguſtus himſelf? Poſterity at length ſees their real characters, through all their artful diſguiſes, and only thinks the worſe of men for laying perſons of wit and ingenuity under a

neceſſity of acting a part ſo unworthy of themſelves. All future kings of France may ſee many very free cenſures upon the character and conduct of their predeceſſor Louis XIV. in Voltaire, notwithſtanding the writer cannot conceal his partiality for his hero and his nation.

But, indeed, to men in all ſtations inſtructions for their own conduct may be conveyed, in the cleareſt and moſt cogent manner, through the example of others. Suetonius relates that Auguſtus uſed to tranſcribe inſtructive paſſages of hiſtorians, and ſend them to thoſe of his officers who had need of admonition.

We may eaſily be ſenſible of the importance of hiſtory to the advancement of knowledge in general, as well as of political knowledge in particular, if we conſider that the moſt exalted underſtanding is nothing more than a power of drawing concluſions, and forming maxims of conduct, from known *facts* and *experiments*, of which neceſſary *materials of knowledge* the mind itſelf is wholly barren. How then can knowledge be gained without experience? And very ſcanty and dear bought, would be the wiſdom that was the reſult of the experience of one man, or

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of one age only. How ſlow then muſt have been the progreſs that mankind would have made in wiſdom, and in improvements of all kinds, before, by ſome means or other, one age could be made acquainted with the obſervations of their anceſtors.

It was requiſite, therefore, in order to the improvement of human kind, and of human conduct, and to give mankind clear and comprehenſive views of their intereſt, together with the means of promoting it, that the experience of ſome ages ſhould be collected and compared, that diſtant events ſhould be brought together; and ſo the firſt riſe, entire progreſs, and final concluſion, of ſchemes, tranſactions, and characters, ſhould be ſeen, as it were, in one unbroken view, with all their connexions and relations. Without this, no adequate judgment could be formed of them, ſuch as would enable an intelligent perſon to determine how far the ſame, or the like undertakings would bear to be repeated, or amended. Without theſe advantages, therefore, the improvements of human life, notwithſtanding the greateſt perfection and extent of our intellectual powers, would be at a ſtand. There might be conjecture, and enterpriſe, but there could be no certainty, or rational expectation of ſucceſs.

Conſequently, without hiſtory, the advantages of our rational nature muſt have been rated very low; and the more complete, the more exact, and comprehenſive is our furniture of hiſtorical facts, the more materials of knowledge, and conſequently of *power* and *happineſs*, are we poſſeſſed of. For Lord Bacon has juſtly remarked, that "knowledge is power;" and certainly all the excellence of human nature, all the advantage we have above the brutes, is derived from the uſe of our intellectual powers. Since, with reſpect to the powers of body, and an inſtinctive capacity of defending and providing for themſelves, they have greatly the advantage of us.

Political knowledge, it will be ſaid, is uſeful only to politicians, and miniſters of ſtate. But beſides that it is a matter of reaſonable curioſity, to examine into the ſprings of the great wheel of government, on the juſt balance, and regular motions, of which our temporal ſecurity and happineſs depend; and though political affairs be almoſt wholly, but not entirely, out of the ſphere of private perſons under an *arbitrary* government; yet in *free* governments, as it is admirably ſaid by Lord Bolingbroke, "the public ſervice is not "confined to thoſe whom the prince appoints

"to

" to the ſeveral poſts in the adminiſtration " under him. Men of all degrees ought to " inſtruct themſelves in thoſe affairs wherein " they may be actors themſelves, or judges of " thoſe who act, or controllers of thoſe who " judge;" and from ſome one or other of theſe claſſes no ſubject of Great Britain is wholly excluded, and ſtill leſs a citizen of America.

It is not unworthy of our notice, when we conſider in what reſpects the knowledge of hiſtory improves the underſtanding, that it tends to free the mind from many fooliſh prejudices, particularly an unreaſonable partiality for our own country, merely as our own country, which makes a people truly ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners. It was a want of acquaintance with hiſtory that made the Chineſe mandarines expreſs their aſtoniſhment to find their country make ſo ſmall a figure in a map of the world, which the Jeſuits ſhewed them. And through the ſame ignorance, the Samoedes, a people inhabiting the northern parts of Siberia, whom Le Bruyn deſcribes as the loweſt and worſt provided for, of all the human race, wondered that the czar of Muſcovy did not chooſe to live among them.

National prejudices likewiſe produce a moſt unreaſonable averſion to foreign nations and

foreign religions, which nothing but an acquaintance with history can cure. The misfortune is, that it is too often the intereſt of particular perſons, and parties, to promote thoſe prejudices. The Moors of Africa were ſurpriſed to find their firſt chriſtian captives in the ſhape of men; and our very ſigns do to this day bear the traces of the extravagant opinion of the ſize and the ſtrength of the Saracens, which they who returned from the cruſades propagated among their ignorant countrymen.*

The knowledge of hiſtory operates no leſs favourably, and effectually, in removing the prejudices that may have been entertained in favour of ancient or modern times, by giving a juſt idea of the advantages and diſadvantages of mankind in all ages.

Far am I, however, from imagining that the conſequence of ſtudying hiſtory will be an indifference to our own country. On the contrary, I think it one of the greateſt advantages ariſing from the ſtudy of hiſtory, to an inhabitant of Great Britain, that he will generally lay down his book more thoroughly

* In England the *Saracen's head* is a common ſign at inns, and it is always drawn to appear exceedingly large and fierce.

ſatisfied

ſatisfied with his own ſituation; and will be, from rational conviction, and not from blind prejudice, a more zealous friend to the intereſt of his country than before. But is much more true of an American citizen, eſpecially as he cannot but have a higher ſenſe of his own influence and importance.

Indeed, ſo apparent are the ſuperior advantages of our conſtitution, and laws, if not of our manners and cuſtoms, over thoſe of moſt other nations, that there are few foreigners who do not give ours the preference to their own. Monteſquieu, one of the firſt of philoſophical politicians, that is, thoſe who have treated of laws and government with a juſt regard to the principles of human nature, and the ſituation and wants of mankind, is in raptures, and almoſt quits the ſtyle of philoſophy, whenever he treats of our conſtitution. And Voltaire, who is exceedingly partial to the power and glory of France, cannot help doing the ſame juſtice to the ſuperior excellence of our government. Indeed, as a man of a free and bold turn of thinking, you will be ſenſible that he could not have done otherwiſe, when we come to analize the Britiſh conſtitution, and to ſhow from what its excellence reſults; though, at the ſame

time, I ſhall not fail to point out ſome radical and very conſiderable defects in it.*

Under the head of *prejudices*, I ſhall juſt mention a pleaſant, but not unimportant obſervation of Mr. Hume, viz. that the *fair ſex* may learn in hiſtory that *love* is neither the only, nor always the moſt governing, principle in the hearts of men; which from the reading of novels, frequenting the theatre, and even the general turn of polite converſation, they might otherwiſe imagine.

But the capital advantage we derive from hiſtory under this head is, that from this ſource only can be derived all future improvements in the ſcience of *government*. And if the well being of ſociety be our object, this

* This refers to a courſe of lectures, which I do not publiſh, but of which a *Syllabus* may be ſeen in my *Eſſay on Education*.

At the time that this was written the Engliſh conſtitution was unqueſtionably the beſt, the moſt favourable to public liberty, and to private ſecurity and happineſs, of any in the world. But late events have ſhown the great abuſes to which it is liable, and the friends of genuine liberty have been great ſufferers in conſequence of it. Such a turn has the adminiſtration of that country taken, that every zealous friend of liberty and reformation has either been an actual ſufferer, or expoſed to the greateſt danger. Some of them have found it neceſſary to leave the country, and others have been obliged to keep the moſt cautious ſilence; the liberty of the preſs having been under as much reſtraint, as ever it was in France on all political ſubjects.

is,

is, after all, the moſt important of all ſciences. For certainly more ſubſtantial benefit reſults to ſociety from the proper balance of the ſeveral powers of a ſtate, or even from one wiſe law, reſpecting the liberties and properties of men, than could be derived from all the other ſciences put together. I except, however, the ſciences, if they may be ſo called, of morality and religion.

Human nature, with the various intereſts and connexions of men in a ſtate of ſociety, is ſo complex a ſubject that nothing can be ſafely concluded *a priori* with reſpect to it. Every thing that we can depend upon muſt be derived from *facts*. All the plans of government laid down by the wiſeſt of the ancients, as Plato, Ariſtotle, and Cicero, are, without exception, defective in many capital inſtances; and notwithſtanding the farther lights that More and Harrington might have derived from the hiſtory of many centuries after them, neither the *Utopia* of the former, nor the *Oceana* of the latter, would bear to be reduced to practice. The former is viſionary even to a proverb.

This grand ſcience is ſtill in its infancy. Men of the greateſt reflection and experience could not pretend to pronounce, with any degree

gree of certainty, what, for inſtance, would be the conſequence of any conſiderable change in our own conſtitution and government, or that of other nations. And do we not frequently ſee that our ableſt miniſters of ſtate, who give the cloſeſt attention to the internal policy of the kingdom, are obliged to change their meaſures, in conſequence of being diſappointed in their expectations from them. This makes it ſo extremely hazardous to introduce any material change into an eſtabliſhed form of government. No human ſagacity can foreſee what inconvenience might ariſe from it.*

So important is this ſcience of government, that nothing can be more worthy of the ſtudy of thoſe who have ſufficient abilities, and who are friends of mankind; and the only foundation on which men who think, and who are not carried away by their own imaginations, will build any concluſions is *hiſtorical facts*. Hypotheſes built upon arguments *a*

* This obſervation, made forty years ago, has been abundantly verified in the hiſtory of the late revolutions in France. Though planned by men of the greateſt abilities, and the moſt extenſive reading and experience, they have had conſequences that were little foreſeen; and the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed at preſent is the very reverſe of every thing that was intended at the commencement of the revolution. A. D. 1803.

priori

priori are leaſt of all tolerable. Here obſervation and experience are the only ſafe guides.

As all other ſciences have made very rapid advances in the preſent age, the ſcience of government bids fair to keep pace with them. Many ingenious men have of late turned their thoughts to this ſubject, and valuable treatiſes upon it have been publiſhed both in this country and abroad. But what is of much more value, we have now a vaſt ſtock of important *facts* before us, for our contemplation. The old governments of Europe are arrived to a conſiderable degree of maturity. We may rather ſay they are growing into decay; ſo that their ſeveral advantages and defects are become ſufficiently conſpicuous, and the new governments in North America, and eſpecially thoſe of France and Poland, are ſo many *new experiments*, of which political philoſophers cannot fail to make the greateſt uſe. Time has alſo weakened, and removed, many prejudices in favour of pretended *rights to power*, and peculiar *modes of government*; ſo that the only proper object of government, *the happineſs of the people*, is now almoſt univerſally ſeen, and alone attended to.

For want of acquaintance with hiſtory, we are apt to pronounce *a priori* many things to be

be impoſſible, which in fact really exiſt, and are very ſafe. Thus the king of Siam could not be made to believe that the Venetians had no king, any more than that water could have the hardneſs of ſtone, and bear men and carriages.

I ſhall conclude this head with adding, that the knowledge of hiſtory contributes to enlarge the mind by the acquaintance we are thereby enabled to form with all thoſe objects which, in the courſe of theſe lectures, will be pointed out as worthy of peculiar attention to an hiſtorian, the knowledge of which is equally uſeful for ſpeculative or practical purpoſes; ſo that philoſophers and politicians may equally avail themſelves of it.

LECTURE II.

Hiſtory tends to ſtrengthen the Sentiments of Virtue: ſhown from the Manner in which virtuous Impreſſions are actually made upon the Mind. Advantage of the Study of Hiſtory previous to a Perſon's being introduced into the World. Why the Repreſentations of Hiſtorians are almoſt univerſally favourable to Virtue. What kind of Scenes Hiſtory actually exhibits which are favourable to Virtue.

Virtue. A View of the Sentiments and Conduct of great Men inſpires the Mind with a Taſte for ſolid Glory and true Greatneſs. Hiſtory enables us to form juſt Ideas both of the Strength and Weakneſs of human Nature. Inſtances of both, with Reflections.

THE third uſe of hiſtory is, that it tends to ſtrengthen the ſentiments of virtue. That this is the tendency of an acquaintance with hiſtory will be evident, if we conſider in what manner virtuous impreſſions are actually made upon the mind. How do we acquire a love for virtue; but by frequently viewing it in thoſe points of light in which it appears *deſirable* to us, and in a ſituation of mind in which no bias is laid upon us in favour of vice?

It cannot be denied by any who maintain that virtue is its own ſufficient reward in this life, that even a juſt and well-conducted knowledge of the world would have this happy effect. It is only a partial acquaintance with it, ſeeing things in an unfair point of light, and with minds prejudiced by proſpects of pleaſure, intereſt, or falſe notions of honour, that prevents that happy conſequence from taking place univerſally. Now, to ſtudy hiſtory is to come at the knowledge

knowledge of the world in the moſt favourable circumſtances. Hiſtorians are the beſt guides and tutors we can take with us in our travels. They ſhow us *the whole* of tranſactions and characters, before a partial view of them can have had time to make unfavourable impreſſions on our minds; and all the reflections they make upon men and things are uniformly dictated by a ſenſe of virtue and honour. Even Machiavel himſelf, though his very name conveys the idea of baſeneſs and villany as a politician, diſcovers, as Mr. Hume obſerves, true ſentiments of virtue in his hiſtory of Florence.

In ſuch company, and in the hands of ſuch able and faithful conductors, what reaſon have we to be alarmed to ſee our friends introduced to a knowledge of mankind? There is certainly a great difference between a perſon's being admitted to ſee the figure which Alexander the Great, or Charles XII. made at the head of their conqueſts; to view the court of Dionyſius, of Nero, or of Lewis XIV. in all their ſplendour, and ſeeing the figure their whole lives make in the annals of hiſtory. In the former ſituation the incautious mind of a young man might be in danger of being captivated with the charms of ambition,

tion, voluptuouſneſs, or magnificence; but looking upon the ſame objects from the more advantageous ſituation in which hiſtory places us, we muſt certainly be equally ſtruck with their vanity and folly, and conceive a diſguſt and averſion to them. It is with the knowledge of the world as Pope ſays it is with learning:

> Here ſmaller draughts intoxicate the brain,
> But drinking largely ſobers us again.

The only reaſon why a young perſon cannot be ſafely truſted with viewing the vices, as well as the virtues, that are in the world, is that, if left to himſelf in real life, vice may be ſo circumſtanced, as to be but too inviting to his unexperienced mind. But in hiſtory vice never appears tempting. Indeed, whatever be the diſpoſition of hiſtorians themſelves, if they give a faithful view of things, as they have really come to paſs, they cannot help giving a repreſentation favourable to virtue. So conſiſtent is the order of Divine Providence, that, if the ſcheme be fairly and completely repreſented, we may depend upon it that nothing will be exhibited from which it may be juſtly concluded, that vice is eligible upon the whole. Contrary, therefore,

to

to what may be apprehended from a promiſcuous acquaintance with the world, through the glaſs of hiſtory, vices may be viewed as ſafely as virtues. Nay, they both equally teach wiſdom and good morals. It is even impoſſible to ſay which of them inculcates the important leſſon with more force. The exceſſes of a Nero, and the goodneſs of a Marcus Aurelius, have the ſame good effect in hiſtory.

Thus it appears, by arguing as it were *a priori*, from the lights in which characters and events are ſeen in hiſtory, that it *muſt* have an effect that is favourable to virtue. I ſhall now demonſtrate the ſame thing more particularly, by ſhowing what ſcenes hiſtory actually exhibits that have this happy tendency.

In the firſt place, hiſtory, by diſplaying the ſentiments and conduct of truly great men, and thoſe of a contrary character, tends to inſpire us with a taſte for ſolid glory and real greatneſs; and convinces us that it does not conſiſt in what the generality of mankind are ſo eager in the purſuit of.

We can never imagine, if we derive our inſtruction from hiſtory, that true greatneſs conſiſts in *riches;* when we ſee that ſome of the

the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in the annals of mankind were formed, and lived, in poverty; men who ſhowed their contempt of riches by refuſing to improve the opportunities they had of amaſſing wealth. Not to mention Cincinnatus, Fabricius, and other Romans in the early ages of that city, honoured for their poverty, but who had no opportunity of acquiring what we ſhould call riches; Scipio Æmilianus, who might have engroſſed almoſt all the wealth of Carthage, never made a ſingle acquiſition in all his life. The great Philopœmen generally went in a very plain dreſs, and without any ſervant or attendants. The emperors, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, and Aurelius, ſold their palaces, their gold and ſilver plate, their valuable furniture, and all the ſuperfluities they could diſpenſe with, which their predeceſſors had heaped up, and baniſhed all expences and delicacies from their tables with the greateſt ſeverity.

Theſe princes, together with Veſpaſian, Pertinax, Alexander Severus, Claudius the ſecond, and Tacitus, who were raiſed to the empire by their merit, and whom all ages have admired as the greateſt and the beſt of princes, were ever fond of the greateſt plain-

neſs in their apparel, furniture, and outward appearance. The ruins of Adrian's country-ſeat are ſtill to be ſeen, and it does not appear to have exceeded the bigneſs of one of our common houſes. Even Auguſtus himſelf, during a reign of near fifty years, never changed his apartment, or furniture. We ſee the ſame juſt turn of thinking in the famous Cornelia, daughter of the great Scipio. When a lady of her acquaintance deſired very importunately to ſee her toilet, ſhe deferred ſatisfying her curioſity till her children, who were the famous Gracchi, came from ſchool, and then only ſaid: *En! hæc ornamenta mea ſunt. Theſe are my ornaments.*

When temperance, frugality, and a juſt ſenſe of greatneſs are graced with ſuch names as theſe I have mentioned, ſhall we be in any danger of abandoning ourſelves to exceſs in imitation of the infamous Nero, whoſe golden palace, Herodian ſays, was as large as all the reſt of the city of Rome, and whoſe extravagance in other reſpects was in proportion to it; of Caligula, of the beaſtly Commodus, or the mad Heliogabalus? Do we admire Lucullus the more for the idea that Cicero gives us of his expenſive table? Or can we think Marc. Antony to be commended for having

having a ſucceſſion of grand entertainments always ready, that whenever he was diſpoſed to eat he might never wait half an hour?

Can we think that *honours* and *preferment* conſtitute true greatneſs, when we ſee in hiſtory that the moſt worthy men have generally declined them? Tacitus and Probus, who did ſo much honour to their ſtations, were both advanced to the empire againſt their inclinations: and in how much fairer a point of light do their characters ſtand than that of thoſe ſons of ambition, who waded through ſeas of blood to come at it?

The extravagancies of Alexander the Great in killing his beſt friends, the cruelties of the Spaniards in America, the ruin of Sweden by Charles XII. are certainly more proper to ſhew the folly and madneſs of unbounded ambition, than their victories are to dazzle our minds with their glare. How we regret that unhappy turn of mind when we conſider what valuable members of ſociety their abilities would have rendered ſuch men as Julius Cæſar, and Pompey, had they jointly employed them to raiſe the glory of their country; and that the expences of Lewis XIV. in preparations for deſtruction, were more than ſufficient to have founded many numerous

colonies, and to have put them into a flouriſhing condition.

Nothing ſo effectually cures a man of the abſurd pride of *birth* and *family* as ſeeing ſome of the greateſt men in hiſtory, ſuch as Tamerlane, cardinal Ximenes, and pope Sixtus the fifth, riſe from low beginnings; and we are always charmed to ſee truly great men, who were poſſeſſed of the advantages of birth, waive all pretences to merit on that account. Even Veſpaſian laughed at thoſe who pretended to derive his deſcent from Hercules.

An exceſſive paſſion for *fame*, as an end of action, reduces a man very low in the light of hiſtory. How much does the letter which Cicero wrote to Lucceius, and which, unfortunately for him, yet remains (in which he almoſt inſiſts upon his praiſing him at the expence of truth, in the hiſtory of his conſulſhip) ſink that great man in our eſteem. On the contrary, how prodigiouſly does the character of Cato riſe upon us by a few words of Salluſt, *Maluit eſſe, quam videri, bonus: He rather choſe to* BE, *than to* SEEM, *good.* And the vanity of Nero upon his excelling in muſic, and of Commodus on his dexterity in killing wild beaſts, completely expoſe the affectation of excelling in what is out of our

proper

proper ſphere. The ſame maxim is conveyed by Philip, when he aſked his ſon Alexander, if he was not aſhamed to play on a muſical inſtrument ſo well as he did.

In how different a light do thoſe men appear in hiſtory who are greedy to engroſs all praiſe to themſelves, and thoſe who contribute heartily to the reputation of others? An inſtance of the former we ſee in Claudius, who made an idle expedition to finiſh the conqueſt of Britain; of the latter in M. Aurelius, who denied himſelf the pleaſure of attending his ſiſter Lucilla (whom he had married to L. Verus) into the Eaſt, leſt his preſence ſhould give a check to the growing reputation of his ſon-in-law, and ſeem to draw upon himſelf the honour of putting an end to an important war, to the other's prejudice. And hiſtory does the moſt ample recompence to thoſe who have generouſly ſacrificed their own reputation to the public good. Thus Fabius Maximus, to his immortal honour, notwithſtanding the provoking inſults he received from Minucius, reſcued him from the hands of Hannibal, ſetting aſide his *reſentment*, and conſulting only his zeal for the intereſt of his country.

We conceive more clearly what true greatneſs of mind is, at the ſame time that our

hearts are more filled with admiration of it, and burn with a ſtronger paſſion for it, by a ſimple narration of ſome incidents in hiſtory, than by the moſt elaborate and philoſophically exact deſcription of it. What can give us a clearer idea of the noble ſentiments of ſtrict honour and integrity than marſhal Turenne's refuſing a ſum of money, which was offered him if he would not march his army through a certain territory, becauſe he had not intended to march that way. Does not every perſon's heart ſtrongly feel the ſentiments of benevolence, when he hears the good Titus exclaiming that he had *loſt a day*, becauſe he had done no perſon a good office in it? If a perſon be capable of forming any idea of greatneſs of mind in forgiving injuries, he will do it from hearing the following reply that Lewis XII. made to a courtier, who preſſed him to puniſh a perſon who had offended him before he came to the throne: "It belongs "not to the king of France to revenge the "injuries offered to the duke of Orleans." Or, laſtly, what can give ſo juſt an idea of the true ſpirit and magnanimity of a ſoldier, as the reply that viſcount Dorée made to Charles IX. of France, when he received an order from him to maſſacre the Hugonots,

"I deſire

"I deſire your majeſty would employ me in "what is *poſſible*."

The laſt example leads me to a ſecond obſervation, which is, that hiſtory enables us to form juſt ideas of the dignity and the weakneſs of human nature, both of which are extremely uſeful to us in life. The one inſpires us with the noble ambition of riſing above the level of our ſpecies; and the other view, without deſtroying, tempers that ambition with no more than a due degree of humility and diffidence; which in fact equally contributes to the ſame end. What I mean will be more clearly underſtood by a few examples.

How can we conceive a more juſt, or a more exalted idea of a ſenſe of true honour and heroiſm, than by reading ſuch ſtories as that of the behaviour of the earl of Peterborough at the famous ſiege of Barcelona? While he was ſettling the terms of capitulation with the Spaniſh commander, news was brought that, contrary to the ſuſpenſion of arms agreed upon between them, a party of the allied troops had broke into the town. The earl told the Spaniſh general, that if he would give him leave to enter the town with his Engliſh troops, he would drive out his

allies, and then return to finish the capitulation, which he actually performed.

I shall say nothing of the fabulous story of Curtius, who is said to have leaped into a gulph, or of Codrus, who procured his own death to save his country, since instances of equal courage in braving death are by no means uncommon in our own times. At the siege of Turin one Mica is said to have fired a mine, and purposely destroyed himself with the enemy. And how many commanders of ships have purposely blown them up rather than strike their colours. These, it may be said, are the effects of a refined sense of honour, which is acquired in a highly improved state of society. But we may see what may be called the native strength of the mind, in the North American Indians, with whom, when prisoners, it is very common to refuse dying by their own hands, on purpose to shew the honour of their country, in supporting the tortures which they know are prepared for them.

Facts like these, together with those which shew the extent of genius in such men as Aristotle, Archimedes, and sir Isaac Newton, give us high ideas of the dignity of human nature, and the capacity of the human mind.

But

But the other ſide of the picture, which hiſtory with equal faithfulneſs preſents to us, gives us a moſt affecting, and equally inſtructive view, of our deplorable weakneſs and frailty, exemplified in the greateſt of men.

Hardly any thing gives us a more affecting view of the weakneſs and inconſiſtency to which the mind of man is liable, than to ſee men of ſound and clear underſtandings, in moſt reſpects, and of upright honeſt hearts, fall into ſentiments that lead to groſs and painful ſuperſtitions. A moſt remarkable inſtance of this was Paſcal, one of the greateſt geniuſes, and beſt men that ever lived. He, with many others, entertained a notion that God made men miſerable here, in order to their being happy hereafter; and in conſequence of this he impoſed upon himſelf the moſt diſagreeable mortifications. He even ordered a wall to be built before a window of his ſtudy, from which he thought he had too agreeable a proſpect. He alſo wore a girdle full of ſharp points next to his ſkin, and while he was eating or drinking any thing that was grateful to his appetite, he was conſtantly pricking himſelf, that he might not be ſenſible of any pleaſure. His ſiſter too, who was a woman of fine ſenſe and great piety, actually died

died of thirſt, as ſhe thought, to the glory of God. It was certainly through a weakneſs of the ſame nature in the ingenious and excellent Fenelon, that he ſubmitted without reſerve to the arbitrary ſentence of the pope, when he condemned a book that he publiſhed. He even preached to condemn his own book, and forbad his friends to defend it.

They have not only been good men, and of a truly religious turn of mind, who have been ſubject to ſuch groundleſs ſuperſtitions, but the moſt vicious and abandoned alſo. Both kinds of inſtances ſhow the weakneſs to which human nature is liable. But whereas a good man who is a ſlave to ſuperſtition is an object of the greateſt compaſſion, a wicked man in the ſame ſituation is rather a ſubject of ridicule. What, for inſtance, can be more completely ridiculous than Lewis XI. of France, a man who made no conſcience of any villany, going always covered with relics, and wearing a leaden image of the Virgin Mary in his hat, of which it is ſaid he aſked pardon for his murders before they were committed. The ſame prince made a deed of the earldom of Bolloigne to the Virgin Mary.

Even the ſentiments of morality, which of all others one would expect to find the moſt invariable

invariable and uncorrupted, are found greatly perverted, and intermixed with notions that are foreign, and even contrary, to morality, in the minds of ſome whole nations. Thus the Tartars, with whom it is a ſin and a capital crime, as Voltaire ſays, to put a knife into the fire, to lean againſt a whip, to beat a horſe with a bridle, or to break one bone with another, think it no ſin, in ſome caſes, to break their word, to plunder, and commit murder. The ſame Arab who, if he find you at his door claiming hoſpitality, would receive you as his brother, and conduct you the next day, would not have ſcrupled to rob and murder you, as his lawful prey, if he had met you in the deſert an hour before. To give inſtances of the weakneſs and inconſiſtency in the human mind, which hiſtory preſents us with, were endleſs. Theſe are ſufficient to give us an idea how affecting and uſeful ſuch views are, and at the ſame time how entertaining to a ſpeculative mind.

LECTURE III.

Hiſtory tends to ſtrengthen the Sentiments of Virtue by the Variety of Views in which it exhibits the Conduct of divine Providence, ſhowing important Events

Events brought about by inconſiderable Means, or contrary to the Intention of thoſe Perſons who were the principal Agents in them. A Regard to divine Providence heightens our Satisfaction in reading Hiſtory, and tends to throw an agreeable Light upon the moſt gloomy and diſguſting Parts of it. Hiſtory, in the Misfortunes and Hardſhips to which the moſt diſtinguiſhed Perſonages have been reduced, gives a deep conviction of the Inſtability of all human Things, prepares our Minds to ſubmit to Adverſity with Reſignation, and makes us acquieſce in the more humble Stations of Life. Laſtly, the moſt common Obſervations on the Tempers and Manners of Men, ſuch as we may collect every Day from common Life, affect us much more ſtrongly when we ſee them exemplified in the Hiſtory of great Perſonages. At what Age Hiſtory ought to be read. In what Senſe proper for every Age.

THIRDLY, Hiſtory tends to ſtrengthen the ſentiments of virtue, by the variety of views in which it exhibits the conduct of divine Providence, and points out the hand of God, in the affairs of men. For certainly whatever ſuggeſts to us the idea of a divine Being, either in the end, or means, of great events, muſt be favourable to piety and virtue.

That the world has a *governor* or *ſuperintendant*, is juſt as evident as that it had a *maker*.

maker. For no perſon does any thing without ſome deſign, or without intending to make ſome uſe of it. A teleſcope is made to be uſed for the better diſtinguiſhing diſtant objects, the eye itſelf for ſeeing things at a moderate diſtance from us, and no doubt, *men*, and the *world*, for ſome end or other.

And as the ſame Being that made the greateſt things, made the ſmalleſt things alſo, all being parts of the ſame ſyſtem, ſome uſe, no doubt, is made of every thing, even what appears to us the moſt inconſiderable; ſo that, as our Saviour obſerved, "a ſparrow falls not "to the ground without God, and the very "hairs of our heads are numbered." Alſo, as nothing was *made*, ſo nothing can *come to paſs* without the knowledge, the appointment, or permiſſion of God. Something, therefore, is intended by every thing that *happens*, as well as by every thing that is *made*. But in little things a deſign is not ſo apparent as in greater and more ſtriking things. Though, therefore, the hand of God be really in every thing that happens, and that is recorded in hiſtory, our attention is more forcibly drawn to it in great events, and eſpecially in things which happen in a manner unexpected by us: in events in which the hand of man is leaſt ſeen, the hand of

of God is moſt eaſily ſeen and acknowledged; though in fact it is equally concerned in every thing; men and their ſchemes and exploits being only inſtruments in his hand, employed as the moſt fit means to execute his purpoſes.

How can we help acknowledging the hand of God when we ſee great and important events brought about by ſeemingly trifling and inconſiderable means; or by means which ſeem to have little or no relation to the end; as when our king James and both houſes of parliament were reſcued from deſtruction, by a letter which a conſpirator ſent with a view to ſave one of the members of the Houſe of Lords for whom he had a friendſhip?

Who would have imagined that the deſire which Henry VIII. had to be divorced from his wife, would have brought about the reformation in England? The indiſcretion of a Portugueſe prieſt, who would not give place to one of the king's officers in Japan, and the obſtinacy of the jeſuits, in refuſing to give up the houſe which a nobleman had given them, when his ſon claimed it back again, occaſioned the extirpation of the Roman catholic religion in that country.

But what moſt of all ſhows the hand of Providence, and the weakneſs and ſhortſighted-

neſs

neſs of men, are great events being brought about contrary to the intention of the perſons who were the chief inſtruments of them, and by the very means which were intended to produce a contrary event. Thus perſecution has always been the means of promoting the perſecuted religion; inſomuch, that it is become a common proverb, that "the blood "of the martyrs is the ſeed of the church." Thus, likewiſe, Athens, Lacedæmon, Carthage, Rome, and many other ſtates have been ruined by their own ſucceſſes. Philip II. of Spain, by his intolerable oppreſſion, was the cauſe of the freedom of the ſtates of Holland. Such has often been the conſequence of wicked men over-acting their parts. Thus alſo the ſenate of Rome was once ſaved by Catiline's making the ſignal for the maſſacre too ſoon.

With what ſatisfaction may a perſon who has an eye to divine Providence read ſuch a paſſage as the following in Machiavel, that Borgia had ſo well conducted his meaſures, that he muſt have been maſter of Rome, and of the whole eccleſiaſtical eſtate, after the death of his father, but that it was impoſſible for him to foreſee that he himſelf would be at the point of death at the very time that Alexander his father finiſhed his life. They were

were both poiſoned at an entertainment, by a miſtake of the waiter, who ſerved them with the wine which was to have taken off their enemies.

It is no uncommon thing, in the hiſtory of divine Providence, that perſons being known to have abilities ſhall have been the means of keeping them in obſcurity, while others have been advanced in conſequence of their ſeeming inſignificance. If Auguſtus had ſhown any capacity, as a ſtateſman or general, any greatneſs of ſoul, or any thing in the leaſt enterpriſing, at firſt, he would probably never have been maſter of the Roman empire. But while Cicero, and Antony, in their turns, thought to make a tool of him, they, unknown to themſelves, increaſed his power and influence, at the expence of their own.

In this view it is very amuſing, and uſeful, to conſider to what a different purpoſe, the labour, powers, and works of men, and nations, have been employed, from what was originally thought of and intended; as that the Romans, after all their conqueſts of other nations, ſhould be often governed by ſavage and tyrannical barbarians, ſuch as Maximin and others; and that that city, the miſtreſs of the world, which was built by Romulus, and

whoſe

whoſe power was enlarged by ſuch men as Camillus, Scipio Africanus, Marius, Sylla, Cæſar, Pompey, and Trajan, ſhould now be in ſubjection to the pope, and the ſeat of a power totally different from what had before reſided in it, and of which the founders could have no conception. How far was Conſtantine from foreſeeing, that Conſtantinople would be the capital of the Turkiſh empire, and the principal ſupport of a religion oppoſite to that which he eſtabliſhed. How far, alſo, were the heads of the Grecian commonwealths from foreſeeing, that their country, the ſeat of arts and liberty, would ever become the moſt ignorant and enſlaved of all the ſtates of Europe.

A regard to divine Providence is, likewiſe, extremely uſeful to heighten our ſatisfaction in reading hiſtory, and throw an agreeable light upon the moſt gloomy and diſguſting parts of it. With a view to this, the moſt diſagreeable objects in hiſtory will bear to be looked upon with ſatisfaction. And could we ſee every event, in all its connexions, and moſt diſtant influences, we ſhould, no doubt, perfectly acquieſce in every thing that comes to paſs under the government of God; in ſeeing that all evils lead to, and terminate in, a greater good. But in many caſes, we ſee

events which give us pain at firſt ſight, and which occaſion much regret and diſappointment, to thoſe who give more ſcope to their paſſions than to their reflection while they are reading; which, nevertheleſs, if we look no farther than the next and immediate conſequences, we ſhall be thoroughly ſatisfied and pleaſed with.

No perſon converſant with the ancient claſſical hiſtorians, and who has thereby acquired a claſſical taſte, and claſſical notions of *liberty*, but regrets that Rome, in the height of its glory, ſhould fall under the power of maſters. But it is becauſe he does not conſider that all the provinces of the vaſt Roman empire were moſt miſerably oppreſſed and plundered by the republican governors, who had little to fear from courts of juſtice; but were relieved and happy under the government of perſons who lived in conſtant fear of being accuſed of maladminiſtration, to an inexorable maſter. Nay the provinces were not much leſs happy under Tiberius and Nero, than under Trajan and the Antonines.

A reader of Thucydides is apt to be extremely mortified at the ill-treatment of Alcibiades, and the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe. But it is becauſe he does not think

think what would probably have been the conſequence of the ſucceſs of that expedition; namely, the ſlavery of Greece, and, from the nature of its government, the confuſion and ſlavery of Athens too. As ſucceſs naturally points out our favourite hero to us, we cannot help conceiving a violent indignation againſt Hanno, for taking no more care to ſend recruits to Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ. But juſtly did he, and all Carthage, dread the power of Hannibal, when maſter of Rome, who was able to change the whole form of their government, even when he was conquered.

Theſe obvious remarks I mention here, to ſhow the neceſſity of thought and *reflection* in reading hiſtory. Farther obſervations of this kind, and ſuch as are leſs obvious, I ſhall reſerve for another part of this courſe of lectures, in which I ſhall endeavour to enter a little farther into the views and conduct of divine Providence, in the government of the world.

In the fourth place, hiſtory, in the misfortunes and hardſhips to which the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages have been reduced, gives us a deep conviction of the inſtability of all human things, and prepares our minds to ſub-

mit to adverſity with more patience and reſignation, as to a condition from which we ſee none are exempt. Even the misfortunes and diſappointments of brave and good men, who have brought themſelves into difficulties, in conſequence of their generous attempts, in favour of the liberties and beſt intereſts of mankind, do not, as exhibited in hiſtory, in the leaſt tend to ſlacken our zeal in the ſame glorious cauſe; at the ſame time that they make us more prudent in the choice and proſecution of our meaſures, to attain the ſame end, and diſpoſe us to yield to diſappointment with a better grace. That an acquaintance with hiſtory has this effect, I appeal to what any perſon feels after reading of the untimely end of Agis, Cato, Brutus, Hampden, and the great Algernon Sydney. The honourable mention that will, to the end of the world, be made of ſuch glorious, though unfortunate men as theſe, will raiſe up more friends to the ſame great intereſts; while their misfortunes will only ſerve to make thoſe friends more prudent, and therefore probably more ſucceſsful in their endeavours.

But, independently of theſe martyrs of liberty raiſing up more, and more ſucceſsful patrons of it, the conſideration of the remarkable

able reverſes of fortune, in the hiſtory of conſiderable perſonages, has a fine effect upon the human mind. It wonderfully ſoftens and calms it, and gives it an excellent temper for encountering with the viciſſitudes of life. What other ſenſations do we feel, while we read that Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and wife to Charles I. of England, was reduced to the utmoſt extremity of poverty; and that her daughter, who was afterwards married to a brother of Lewis XIV. is ſaid to have lain in bed for want of fuel to keep her warm, while the people of Paris, blind with rage, paid no attention to their ſufferings. The ſame kind of ſenſations we feel, when we read of the great and ſucceſsful general Beliſarius (if the ſtory be true) begging his bread; of Cortez, the renowned conqueror of Mexico, living unknown and in diſgrace in Spain, and ſcarce able to get to ſpeak to his maſter Charles V. though when the king aſked, who the fellow was that was ſo clamorous to ſpeak to him, he cried out, "I am one who have gotten your majeſty "more provinces, than your father left you "towns." He afterwards ſerved in a rank little higher than that of a common ſoldier on the coaſt of Barbary.

Fifthly, Theſe great reverſes of fortune, and calamities of men in high ſtations, at the ſame time that they are hardly ever known to diſcourage men of ability and ſpirit from undertaking the public ſervice, when regularly called to it, may juſtly make perſons who are born to private ſtations, and who have no opportunity of riſing above them, content with their ſituation. The many who have abdicated royalty, as Chriſtiana queen of Sweden, Charles V. emperor of Germany, Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, John Caſimir, king of Poland, and others, convince us that crowns do not always ſit eaſy; and that perſons in high ſtations have need of a ſtrong ſenſe of honour and integrity to make their fatigues and misfortunes tolerable.

It is no unuſeful ſentiment that we collect from reading that Richlieu ſhortened his days by the uneaſineſs with which he was devoured in the fullneſs of his power. What Voltaire ſays of Lewis XIV. is an excellent memento to the ambitious, that he ſaw all his family periſh by premature deaths; that though, towards the cloſe of his life, he appeared in public as uſual, in private the pain of his many misfortunes pierced him to the heart, and threw him into convulſions; that he met with

domeſtic

domeſtic loſſes at the concluſion of an unſucceſsful war, and before he was ſure of obtaining a peace, and at a time when a famine had waſted his kingdom; and that he loſt in the minds of his ſubjects, during the laſt three years of his life, all the reſpect and eſteem he had gained by his great actions.

The advantage of preferring a private ſituation, eſpecially to entering into the views of faction, we ſee in the ſecurity and long life of Atticus, in the moſt diſtracted times of the Roman hiſtory; and in Richard Cromwell, who lived to a great age contented and happy, whereas his father never knew what happineſs was. The hiſtory of very few great ſtateſmen can match that of cardinal Fleury, of whom we read, that his ſchemes were crowned with ſucceſs from the year 1726 to 1742; that he lived ninety years, and preſerved his faculties unimpaired to the laſt; which makes his hiſtorian ſay, that, if ever there was a happy man upon earth, it was doubtleſs cardinal Fleury.

Laſtly, thoſe obſervations on the tempers and manners of men, which we may collect every day from common life, affect us much more ſtrongly when we ſee them exemplified in the hiſtory of great perſonages. We ſee, for inſtance, every day, that almoſt all perſons

who are intrusted with power abuse it. But this is better exemplified in kings and ministers of state. We see again that men in low circumstances are apt to be despised, and that court is always paid to the great and the powerful. But this maxim receives a stronger confirmation, and makes a deeper impression, than any occurrence in private life could occasion, when we think what court was paid to Oliver Cromwell, by all the princes of Europe, while Charles II. then in exile, could not obtain an interview with the ministers of either France or Spain, at the treaty of the Pyrenees, though he made a journey on purpose to obtain it.

It is a common and just observation, that, through the inconstancy of our nature, men are liable to conceive hasty and unreasonable disgust at their situation, and yet, when they have changed it, wish to resume it; and this we see exemplified in private life almost every day. But ever so many examples of this kind do not make so great an impression upon us, as the history of Victor Amadeus king of Sardinia, who abdicated the crown through mere caprice, but found, as some historian says, that the company of his mistress, who was become his wife, devotion, and the tranquil-

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lity of retirement, could not ſatisfy a ſoul occupied during fifty years with the affairs of Europe. He was deſirous of regaining the throne even by force, and afterwards died in confinement.

How incapable riches and power are to ſatisfy the mind of man, is an obſervation which few perſons, in the courſe of their own experience, have not ſeen occaſion to make. But the ſentiment makes a deeper impreſſion upon us when we ſee it exemplified in the hiſtory of ſtateſmen and conquerors; and as it is beautifully exhibited in a converſation which paſſed between Pyrrhus and his miniſter Cyneas, before their expedition into Italy. The miniſter aſked the king what he propoſed to do when he had ſubdued the Romans? He anſwered, Paſs into Sicily. What then? ſaid the miniſter. Conquer the Carthaginians, replies the king. And what follows that? ſays the miniſter. Be ſovereign of Greece, and then enjoy ourſelves, ſaid the king. And why, replied the ſenſible miniſter, can we not do this *laſt* even now?

To add one inſtance more: we ſee the vanity of the living in their boundleſs proviſion for futurity, and in the diſſipation of the large fortunes of covetous perſons, by the extravagance

gance of their heirs. But it does not affect us near ſo much as when we are reading in hiſtory, that the riches which Sixtus V. amaſſed in his pontificate, and thoſe which Henry IV. of France had with great difficulty ſaved, were ſquandered away within leſs than a year after their deaths; alſo that the treaſure which Henry VII. of England had raiſed by every art of extortion went almoſt as faſt.

Thus we have ſeen how, by hiſtory, our minds are agreeably entertained, our paſſions are exerciſed, and our judgments are formed, ſo as either to fit us for the buſineſs of life, or furniſh us with materials for ſcience; how ſentiments of virtue are acquired, and the beſt moral maxims of conduct are moſt deeply impreſſed upon our minds. All theſe advantages reſult from hiſtory as a *ſtudy*. There are other advantages reſulting to mankind from it, in a different manner, as only one inſtrument of recording tranſactions. How imperfect, for inſtance, without hiſtory, would be our knowledge of genealogies, and conſequently of the order of important ſucceſſions, and how precarious would be the advantage, reſulting from conventions and treaties of all kinds, if all the articles of them were repoſited only in the memory of the contracting parties.

We

We read that the boundaries of ſome of the Grecian ſtates were once determined by a verſe of Homer, who, in his deſcription of Greece, relates what they were in his time.

The preceding account of the uſes of hiſtory will aſſiſt us in determining what has formerly been a ſubject of debate among the critics, namely, at what *age* hiſtory is proper to be read.

Conſidering the various uſes to which the ſtudy of hiſtory has been ſhown to be ſubſervient, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould heſitate to pronounce, that it can neither be begun too early, nor continued too late. If hiſtory amuſe the imagination, exerciſe and improve the paſſions, inſpire a taſte for true glory, juſt ſentiments of, and a love for, virtue, and thereby form the *temper*, and prepare men for converſing with the world; what can be more proper for young perſons? And ſince the mind cannot be too well furniſhed in theſe reſpects, and men cannot have too large a ſtock of this *anticipated experience*, the ſtudy of it muſt be uſeful while there remains any thing of the part we have to act on the theatre of the world. Moreover, ſince hiſtory furniſhes materials for the fineſt ſpeculations, and the moſt important ſciences, it cannot but be

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of ſervice while we make any uſe of our intellectual faculties.

Since hiſtory may be conſidered as containing examples of the ſciences of *morals* and *politics* chiefly, no doubt a perſon who has ſtudied theſe ſciences, is qualified to read hiſtory with more pleaſure and advantage. But then it muſt likewiſe be conſidered, that it is impoſſible to be maſter of theſe ſciences without a knowledge of hiſtory. Their influences and uſes are reciprocal. Thus the perſon who has ſtudied the grammar of any language will read authors who have written in it with more eaſe and advantage. But grammars could never have been made without a previous knowledge of the languages for which they were made, nor even learned, without the uſe of examples borrowed from thoſe languages.

That young perſons are not capable of making a right uſe of hiſtorical examples in a moral reſpect was obviated when the advantages of history above experience were mentioned. If what was ſaid there be conſidered, it will appear much ſafer for a child to be truſted with a piece of hiſtory than to hear the common news of the town he lives in. It is certain that neither in the one or the other is exact juſtice done to the characters of

men

men in the events of their lives. But in hiſtory it is done much more completely than it is within the compaſs of any particular perſon's obſervation.

A proper regard, no doubt, ought to be had to the age, experience, and previouſly acquired knowledge, as well as the intended ſphere of life, of the perſons to whom particular hiſtories are recommended. It would be very prepoſterous to adviſe any perſon to begin the ſtudy of hiſtory with ſuch writers as Polybius or Tacitus, and ~~to end with Livy~~, Quintus Curtius, or Cornelius Nepos. Common ſenſe will direct that hiſtories which tend chiefly to amuſe the imagination, or inforce the plaineſt inſtructions in morals, ought rather to be recommended to young perſons, who will both have the moſt reliſh for ſuch works, and to whom they will be of the greateſt uſe; and that hiſtories which furniſh more exerciſe for the judgment ſhould be reſerved for an age in which that faculty is riper. However, there can be no great inconvenience in young perſons being indulged in reading almoſt all hiſtories promiſcuouſly. Their natural diſpoſition, and previous acquirements, will direct them to what they are moſt capable of profiting by, and the higher uſes of the ſame works may

may be ſafely left to be reaped at a ſecond peruſal, in a more advanced ſtage of life. No general hiſtory is better calculated for the uſe of young perſons than that of Rollin.

PART II.

OF THE SOURCES OF HISTORY.

LECTURE IV.

Importance of Records. What have been the principal Methods of tranſmitting to Poſterity the Knowledge of Events, with the Advantages and Imperfections of each. Oral Tradition. Dependent and independent Evidence. To eſtimate the Value of ſingle Evidences. Hiſtorical Examples. The Corruption of Tradition exemplified in eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and the ancient Hiſtory of Egypt. Difference between ancient and modern Times with Reſpect to the Communication of Intelligence.

THOUGH it cannot be ſuppoſed that mankind, in very early and rude ages, could be aware of any of the advantages which ariſe from

from History as a *ſtudy*, or that they could even have much occaſion to tranſmit the knowlege of any of their tranſactions to poſterity; yet it muſt be acknowledged, that the apprehenſion of the uſefulneſs of ſome contrivance for this purpoſe muſt very ſoon have ariſen in the minds of a people who were forming themſelves into any kind of *ſociety*. No ſociety, for inſtance, can ſubſiſt without compacts and agreements; and theſe are ſo manifeſtly liable to be forgotten, or evaded (particularly as the obligation of keeping a promiſe is ſeldom found to have much force among barbarians) that it muſt have immediately appeared deſirable to have ſome ſtanding memorials of them, as a better ſecurity for their obſervance than the memory, or the honour of the contracting parties. Various other more extenſive uſes of *records* could not fail to occur in a more improved ſtate of ſociety; and with the improvements of ſociety, and the multiplied uſes of records, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed that the methods of recording would likewiſe improve. Accordingly we find that theſe have been various; and the traces of paſt events which the practice of theſe methods has left in the world, are the chief ſources to which all hiſtorians muſt have recourſe for their materials.

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Under this ſecond head, *of the ſources of hiſtory*, I propoſe to enumerate all, or at leaſt the principal, methods that have been made uſe of for tranſmitting to poſterity the knowledge of paſt events; and I ſhall treat of them in what I apprehend to be their natural order, beginning with the firſt and leaſt perfect, and ending with the laſt and moſt perfect, that human ingenuity has yet invented. Under each head I ſhall conſider the nature of the evidence on which it reſts, and give a general account of the information we may expect from it. After theſe *direct* ſources of hiſtory, I ſhall mention the principal of thoſe means by which we are able *indirectly* to aſcertain, and tranſmit the knowledge of important facts.

Before the invention of the arts of writing, carving, and painting, *Oral Tradition* muſt have been the only vehicle of hiſtorical knowledge; and, with reſpect to this, it is well worth our notice, that the wiſdom of Providence has made proviſion for the inſtruction of youth in the diſpoſitions and circumſtances of their aged parents. When the active ſcenes of their lives are cloſed, their active powers being ſpent, but the active paſſions of their nature ſtill ſo much awake, as deeply to intereſt

tereſt them in public tranſactions, ſince they can have but little ſhare in, and enjoyment of, the *preſent*, they are perpetually reviewing, and taking pleaſure in relating, the *paſt ſcenes* of their lives; which, being impreſſed when their minds were vigorous and retentive, are faithfully retained in memory. Thus the natural talkativeneſs of old age, meeting with the natural inquiſitiveneſs and curioſity of youth, makes a happy coincidence of circumſtances, very favourable to the propagation of knowledge and inſtruction.

It muſt be confeſſed, and it is obvious to conceive, that this method of conveying hiſtorical knowledge muſt have been very imperfect, and inadequate for ſeveral important uſes of hiſtory. But, notwithſtanding this, it might have been much more extenſive and exact than we, who chiefly make uſe of different and more perfect methods, can well imagine. It is univerſally true, that when any art has been long diſuſed, it grows leſs perfect, and more inſufficient, than when mankind, through want of any other, were obliged to make the moſt of it; and it is therefore apt to ſuffer more upon compariſon with a new, and more cultivated art than, in the nature of things, it ought to do. Thus

we ſee that perſons who have no knowledge of written numbers are much readier in mental computation, than thoſe who have been uſed to have recourſe to their pen upon every occaſion.

It is very poſſible, therefore, that we may entertain too mean an opinion of the ſtate of hiſtorical knowledge before the invention of the preſent arts of recording events; ſince perſons who had no hiſtories to read would make more inquiries, and take more pains to procure information from all quarters, and would, of courſe, be more capable of informing others, than any perſons now living could be with reſpect to what they have not learned from books. It is not improbable but that, in thoſe unlettered ages, every elderly perſon would be poſſeſſed of a little treaſure of hiſtory; which would not conſiſt of his own family ſtories only, but contain many particulars relative to the general ſtate of his country, and other neighbouring nations.

Theſe informations were the ſources from which Herodotus derived the greateſt part of his hiſtory; and the growing reputation of that author demonſtrates how much real and uſeful knowledge a man of ſenſe and inquiry may get by ſuch channels.

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To ſecure the remembrance of very important facts, particularly of compacts and treaties, we find it to have been the cuſtom in all nations before the uſe of letters, and even continued long after their introduction, to recite them before large ſtated aſſemblies of people. Hereby, both an air of importance was given to them, and a greater number of witneſſes was provided for them. For many ages in England, every contract of importance was made in ſome public court; and no bargain or ſale of goods was valid unleſs made in the open market. It is not wholly improbable, but that it might be in conſequence of ſuch cuſtoms as theſe that Herodotus was led to recite his written hiſtory before the general aſſembly of Greece at the Olympic games.

It is a very good method which the Indians of North America uſe, to enable them to retain in memory all the articles of a complex treaty. The public orator delivers to one of his attendants a ſtring of wampum upon the recital of every article; ſo that each is intruſted to a different perſon, and he is provided with a memorial, that may frequently remind him of it, and thereby the more deeply impreſs it on his memory.

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The paintings of the Mexicans anſwered the ſame purpoſe much better, and contained a pretty full hiſtory of the nation from a very early period. They conſiſted of the figures of natural objects, ſometimes contracted into *hieroglyphics*, mixed with many ſymbolical characters; and the names of perſons and places were diſtinguiſhed by the figures of the objects which the names expreſſed. Thus, with the help of tradition (there being perſons whoſe buſineſs it was to explain theſe pictures) they conveyed to future ages a very competent knowledge of the paſt.

But, notwithſtanding every method of improving merely oral tradition, it ſeems to have been not without reaſon, that ſir Iſaac Newton lays it down as a general maxim, that things ſaid to have been done above a hundred, or two hundred, years before the uſe of letters are worthy of little credit. And if we conſider the nature of evidence, the reaſonableneſs of this aſſertion will be more apparent; and particularly if we attend to the great difference there is between dependent and independent evidence.

If the evidence of a fact depend upon a number of original witneſſes, no way connected with one another, ſo that the inſuffi-

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ciency of one ſhall not at all affect the reſt, the fact will not be improbable unleſs the deficiency of credibility in them all be very great. But, if the evidence be ſupported by a number of witneſſes dependent upon one another, ſo that the inſufficiency of any one ſhall wholly invalidate that of all who come after, the credibility of each ſeparately taken muſt be very great, to make the evidence of the whole authentic. In the former caſe, the more witneſſes there are, the better. For each evidence, though ever ſo weak, increaſes the probability, and brings us nearer to certainty. But in the latter caſe the fewer there are, the better; for each evidence, though ever ſo ſtrong, leſſens the probability, and makes the fact more uncertain.

This ſubject Dr. Hartley has illuſtrated by the mathematical doctrine of chances, in the following manner; putting $\frac{1}{a}$ for the abſolute value of each dependent evidence, or the inſufficiency of each independent evidence, abſolute certainty in the former caſe, and abſolute uncertainty in the latter being equal to unity, and making the number of witneſſes the *power* of n in both. From this it will be manifeſt, upon a little attention, that provided the power (n) be conſiderable (a) may

be very little without greatly diminiſhing the value of the expreſſion; that is, without greatly leſſening the probability in the one caſe, or the improbability in the other. For example, let $a=3$ and $n=10$; then $a_n^1=\frac{1}{59049}$ which, in independent evidence, will be little leſs than abſolute certainty; and in dependent evidence, little leſs than abſolute uncertainty.

The value of each ſeparate evidence muſt be eſtimated from conſidering the opportunity any perſon had of knowing the truth, and his fidelity in communicating it. In hiſtorical evidence, where an author's moral character is not known, his veracity will be judged of according to his ſituation, by conſidering whether it was ſuch as would lay him under any bias to falſify, or not.

From the firſt of theſe conſiderations we infer that the hiſtories of England, Scotland, and other European States, before the Roman conqueſts, and the introduction of letters (as they are grounded chiefly upon oral tradition) muſt be very uncertain: and hence the marks of fable in ſome of the firſt books of almoſt all very ancient hiſtories. From the ſecond conſideration we are led to give little credit to the accounts of either friends or enemies in the hiſtories of rival nations, and particularly of oppoſite

oppoſite ſects or parties, unleſs we have an opportunity of comparing the accounts of both ſides. Thus the character which the Romans have given of the Carthaginians, and even their accounts of facts in their intercourſe with them, will be forever reckoned dubious; whereas the moſt exact and impartial hiſtory of their tranſactions with the Grecian ſtates may be extracted from the accounts of both nations. And from both conſiderations is founded the great degree of credit that is univerſally given to the hiſtories of Thucydides and Xenophon. Both theſe authors lived in the time of which they write; both, though Athenians, and employed in public characters by their country, were ill-uſed by their countrymen, and obliged to take refuge among the Lacedemonians; ſo that it may be pretty fairly preſumed, that one prejudice would nearly balance another, and their minds be left, as nearly as poſſible, in a ſtate of abſolute impartiality.

The compariſon of the Egyptian hiſtories of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and what Plato relates from a Poem of Solon's, ſhows the natural progreſs of fiction in hiſtory, when there are no records to curb and reſtrain the invention of a people bent upon magnifying

their antiquities. After Cambyſes had deſtroyed the records of Egypt, the prieſts of that country were continually adding to the catalogue of their kings, and carrying more backward the dates of paſt tranſactions, as appears by the following circumſtances. Solon, Herodotus, and Diodorus, all travelled into Egypt at different and ſucceſſive periods of time, and all had their information from the prieſts of that country. According to Solon, who was the firſt of the three that viſited Egypt, the wars of the great gods happened in the days of Cecrops, but according to Herodotus they muſt have been more ancient; and Diodorus, who wrote four hundred years after Herodotus, inſerts many nameleſs kings between thoſe whom he placed in continual ſucceſſion; ſo that their earlieſt hiſtory was then removed into the remoteſt antiquity.

The credibility of hiſtorians who treat of their own times, and do not compile from the writings of others, particularly of thoſe who themſelves bore a part in public affairs, as Thucydides, Xenophon, Cæſar, Clarendon, Sully, &c. come under the conſideration of original evidences. With reſpect to writers of this claſs, it is obvious to remark, that the ancients were in circumſtances in which

which it was much leſs eaſy to receive information than the moderns, by reaſon of their want of the methods which are now in uſe for the ſpeedy conveying of intelligence. For theſe we are indebted to that freer intercourſe which more extenſive politics and commerce have promoted between different ſtates, and eſpecially the eſtabliſhment of poſts in all the civilized countries of Europe.

In ancient times a nation might be ſubdued, and hardly any but its next neighbours hear of it. This may be the reaſon why ſo little notice is taken of the wars of the Romans and Carthaginians by the contemporary Greek writers, who do not ſo ſtrictly confine themſelves to their ſubject, as purpoſely to decline the mention of foreign incidents that would embelliſh their works. For a like reaſon it is remarkable that all the ſtates of Europe were long ignorant both of Jenghis Khan and his conqueſts. But ſince commerce and navigation have been ſo much extended, nothing can happen in the moſt remote parts of the civilized world but the knowledge of it is immediately communicated to all the reſt.

It is a pretty juſt obſervation of Mr. Hume, that, in general, there is more candour and ſincerity in the ancient hiſtorians, but leſs exactneſs

exactneſs and care than in the moderns. The reaſon of the latter may be, that the firſt writers of hiſtory could not be aware of the *uſe* of ſuch minute exactneſs in relating a variety of hiſtorical circumſtances. For example, not having obſerved, or ſufficiently attended to, ſuch ſubjects as government, laws, manners, arts, &c. they were not aware that the progreſs of them would ever become a matter of ſuch general and reaſonable curioſity as it is now. Alſo, having ſeen no important end anſwered by chronological exactneſs, and having no fixed æras to guide them, they would naturally not be ſo attentive to fix the preciſe *dates* of events, as the more extenſive views of modern hiſtorians make it deſirable that they had been.

On the other hand, the ancient and claſſical hiſtorians had an advantage in the *ſubject* of their hiſtories, with reſpect to the certainty of intelligence, concerning the objects and motives of ſchemes and tranſactions. They treat chiefly of the politics and wars of republican ſtates, in which nothing can be kept ſecret. For beſides that modern politics are much more complex and refined than the ancient, more pains are taken to conceal them; which, in European courts and monarchies,

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or ſtates in which the executive power is lodged in one hand, or a few hands, it is more eaſy to do. Notwithſtanding this, ſo much are the methods of coming at intelligence multiplied, and improved, in the more connected modern ſtates of Europe, that the ſagacity even of ſome contemporary writers has arrived at remarkable certainty and exactneſs in their accounts of public meaſures; and even with reſpect to thoſe nations which are the moſt famed for the intricacy of their politics. Gerard, ſecretary to the Duke d'Epernon, relates, that when Davila's hiſtory was read by that old man, who had been a principal actor in that age, he expreſſed his wonder how the author could be ſo well informed of the moſt ſecret councils and meaſures of thoſe times.

LECTURE V.

Of hiſtorical Poems. Thoſe of Homer. Public Monuments with traditional Explications. Hiſtorical Customs. Historical Names of Perſons, Countries, Towns, &c. Monuments with emblematical and alphabetical Inſcriptions.

A METHOD of tranſmitting the knowledge of important events with greater accuracy than by ſimple narration would be by *hiſtorical poems*,

poems, with which few barbarous nations have been long wholly unprovided. A ſtory reduced to any kind of *metre* would ſuffer little by repetition; and it can hardly be ſuppoſed that any variation in the repetition would be of ſuch a nature as to affect the general facts it contained. Conſidering that all the learning of thoſe nations muſt neceſſarily conſiſt of thoſe poems, and that, being compoſed chiefly in honour of their founders and heroes, they would be conſtantly ſung in religious ceremonies, and on feſtivals inſtituted to their memory (which circumſtances would greatly contribute to extend and perpetuate them), it is eaſily conceived what uſe an hiſtorian, who could come at the knowledge of ſuch poems, might make of them.

The bards among the Britons and ancient Germans, and the Scaldri among the Scandinavians are moſt worthy of our notice in this reſpect, as they were an order of men, whoſe ſole employment it was to compoſe and repeat thoſe poems. Olaus Magnus was much indebted to the poems of the Scaldri in his hiſtory of one of the northern nations. It were to be wiſhed that the poems of the Welſh and Iriſh were better known.

Even the poems of Homer (particularly the Iliad) bear evident marks of their being found-

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ed on fact, notwithſtanding the mixture of the abſurd Grecian mythology with them. This author is much more circumſtantial than a mere writer of fiction, particularly ſo ancient a writer, would ever have thought of being. The remarkable diſtinctneſs of his characters is likewiſe no bad foundation for ſuppoſing that they were copied from real life. In both theſe reſpects the Æneid of Virgil is very defective. The hiſtorical part of that work is neither ſo circumſtantial, nor are the characters introduced into it ſo diſtinctly marked. It has, therefore, much more the air of a romance.

Particularity in facts and characters neceſſarily belongs, and cloſely adheres, to whatever has actually happened. It is therefore almoſt impoſſible to exclude the mention of the particular circumſtances of time, place, and character in a relation of facts; whereas theſe being ſuperfluous in the views of a writer of fiction, and not neceſſarily obtruding themſelves into the ſtory, they are generally omitted. Beſides, ſuch ſtories are commonly more agreeable to the trite maxims of criticiſm, as being free from every thing that is not eſſential to the main ſtory. But this kind of correctneſs is purchaſed at the expence of what is one of the beſt characteriſtics of truth.

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And happy has it been for the cauſe of truth that the importance of introducing ſuch a number of ſeemingly unneceſſary particulars into narrations was not more early attended to, as hereby it is much more eaſy to diſtinguiſh truth from fiction in ancient writings.

Another means of preſerving traditions, which has been more general than hiſtorical poems, is by *viſible monuments* ſuch as *pillars*, *edifices*, or mere *heaps of ſtones*, erected upon occaſion of any remarkable event. Theſe monuments, engaging the attention of the riſing generation, would occaſion ſuch a ſucceſſion of inquiries and informations, concerning the origin and uſe of them, as would long preſerve the knowledge of the tranſactions they were connected with. Of this nature probably was in part the tower of Babel, as well as the pillar that Jacob erected at Hebron, and the heap of ſtones jointly raiſed by him and Laban as a memorial of their mutual reconciliation and covenant.

As theſe monuments had no *inſcriptions*, their explanation muſt only have been traditional; but as the facts were connected with viſible and ſtriking aſſociated circumſtances, they would have a great advantage over thoſe conveyed by mere oral tradition. The ſight of the monument could not fail to revive, in the

the minds of all who lived in the neighbourhood, the remembrance of the uſe and deſign of it: and while the monument ſubſiſted, it can hardly be ſuppoſed that even a migration of the people would be followed by an abſolute loſs of the hiſtory. For the new-comers, though not equally intereſted in the events referred to with the late inhabitants, could not help being induced, by principles common to human nature, to get what information they could procure with reſpect to ſuch curioſities in the countries they ſettled in.

Giving *names* to countries, towns, &c. has been made uſe of as an expedient for perpetuating the memory of their planters or founders, from times of the earlieſt antiquity to the preſent age; from Enoch, which had its name from the ſon of Cain, down to Pitſbury, which was ſo called in the late war. Indeed there is hardly a name given either to a perſon or place in the Old Teſtament without an hiſtorical reaſon for it. And where tranſactions would not be to the honour of the perſons concerned in them, the officious zeal of their enemies has ſometimes affixed opprobrious names and epithets to the places which were the theatre of them, which bid equally fair to adhere to them. Thus the field in which pope Gregory treated with

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Lewis the Feeble, when they were both known to enter into the negociation with a view to deceive one another, went for a long time, and is perhaps to this day known, by the name of *the field of lies*.

Of the ſame nature with public monuments and traditional explanations, are *national cuſtoms*, in commemoration of remarkable hiſtorical events; ſuch as the Athenians ſending annually a ſhip to Delos, the paſchal ſupper among the Jews, the Lord's ſupper among Chriſtians, the Engliſh making bonfires on the fifth of November, and carrying oak boughs on the twenty-ninth of May.

The philoſopher Anaximander effectually provided for his not being forgotten; when, being aſked by the magiſtrates at Lampſacum, where he had reſided, what they ſhould do to honour his memory, he made the ſeemingly ſmall and ſimple requeſt, that the boys might have leave to play on the anniverſary of his deceaſe.

Theſe hiſtorical cuſtoms would not, indeed, like hiſtorical monuments, remain in the country where they were firſt eſtabliſhed, and thereby come to the knowledge of the new inhabitants; but, which is an equivalent advantage, they are eaſily transferred with the people that migrate, wherever they go; and in another

another reſpect they are more uſeful to an hiſtorian, as they aſſiſt him in tracing the origin of colonies, which would naturally retain the cuſtoms of their mother country. Thus Newton infers from what we read of the practice of circumciſion in Colchis and Iberia, that the inhabitants of thoſe countries were probably a colony of Egyptians, and perhaps left there in the expedition of Seſoſtris. The others are of opinion that they were part of the ten tribes that were carried into captivity by the Aſſyrians, and ſettled in that country, which was then under their dominion. By the ſame manner of reaſoning the Chineſe have alſo of late been ſuſpected to have been a colony of Egyptians, and the preſent inhabitants of North America to be of the race of the ancient Sarmatians, inhabiting the north eaſtern parts of Aſia.

It is not improbable but that the corruption to which the traditional explanations of naked monuments is unavoidably liable, might firſt ſuggeſt to mankind the expediency of ſome contrivance to make them their own interpreters; either by the form, or the ſituation of them, as in the pyramids of Egypt, trophies of victory, &c. or by engraving upon them ſome emblems, or devices, expreſſive of the uſes they

were intended to anſwer. Thus Seſoſtris is ſaid to have erected pillars in the countries he ſubdued, and to have engraved upon ſome of them emblems expreſſive of the cowardice or weakneſs of the inhabitants, upon other ſymbols of the vigour and ſpirit with which they had oppoſed his invaſion.

As the names of *men*, in all original languages, were borrowed from thoſe of *things*, the figures of thoſe things which bore the ſame name with any perſon, engraved upon his ſepulchre, was no bad method of expreſſing to whom it belonged. This method might have been uſed before alphabetical writing was invented; and as the biſhop of Clogher ingeniouſly conjectures, may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have given riſe to the worſhip of animals and vegetables among the Egyptians.

As, in after ages, improvements were made in this method by the Greeks who ſettled in Egypt, who erected ſtatues holding in their hands the things which the former inhabitants had been ſatisfied with pourtraying upon the ſepulchres, the ſame learned perſon with great appearance of reaſon, conjectures that the ſtatue of Jupiter Caſius holding a pomegranate in his hand was originally deſigned for Caphtor, who is mentioned by Moſes, and whoſe

name

name ſignifies a pomegranate in Hebrew, which was the original language of that country. This conjecture receives additional confirmation from conſidering that this Caphtor, who ſeems to have come along with his great grandfather Ham into Egypt, was the firſt Egyptian warrior that we meet with any account of in real hiſtory, who extended his conqueſts beyond the boundaries of Egypt, and in company with his brethren the Philiſtines, diſpoſſeſſed the Avim of that part of the land of Canaan which was afterwards called Philiſtia, and was in aftertimes deified. Nor is it improbable that he might have been the ſame perſon alſo with Dionyſus the elder, or the great Bacchus.

The apparent convenience of thoſe monuments to receive inſcriptions would probably ſet men's ingenuity to work, and greatly accelerate the invention of *writing*, both hieroglyphical and alphabetical. And there is reaſon to believe that letters, and characters of all kinds were made upon wood, ſtone, metal, and ſuch like durable materials, long before they were made uſe of in common life.

The imperfection of monuments, even with inſcriptions, is that they could record only a *few events*, in a manner deſtitute of *circumſtances*, and that they are not eaſily multiplied,

ſo that, remaining ſingle, and little care being taken to renew them, the materials would in time moulder away, and the inſcription become effaced. And the attention which was not ſufficient to keep them in repair, would hardly ſuffice for the preſervation of the traditional explications. The Arundelian marbles, which contain all the leading events of the Grecian hiſtory till ſixty years after the death of Alexander the Great; and the Capitoline marbles, which contain a catalogue of the Roman magiſtrates, and the principal events of their hiſtory, during the time of the commonwealth, are juſtly reckoned among the the moſt valuable remains of monumental inſcriptions.

LECTURE VI.

Of Coins and Medals. Their Origin and Uſe in Hiſtory. The principal Information we receive from them. The Progreſs of Letters traced by their Means. Addiſon's Uſe of Medals. Ancient and modern Coins compared, with a View both to Hiſtory and Taſte. Of the Origin and Uſe of Heraldry.

COINS and medals, with reſpect to their uſes in Hiſtory, may be conſidered as a kind of *portable*

portable monuments. The materials of both are ſimilar, and the events they record are ſingle, and remarkable. The ſmall ſize of a coin does not even admit of its being ſo circumſtantial as a monument; and though, for the ſame reaſon, it be more liable to be loſt, it is alſo more capable of being concealed, and is not expoſed to the injuries of the weather. Alſo as great numbers are ſtruck at the ſame time, they are eaſily multiplied, ſo that, upon the whole, they ſtand a much fairer chance of being ſeen by poſterity. Accordingly, we have innumerable more coins that were ſtruck in ancient times than there are ancient monuments ſtanding in the world; and though we may be more liable to be impoſed upon by pretended *antiques*, this conſideration affects the virtuoſo more than the hiſtorian. For if the new ones be exact copies of ancient coins, they corrupt no hiſtory; and it can hardly be worth any perſon's while to coin a piece whoſe known exiſtence has not acquired it ſome degree of reputation.

If we attend only to the original, and primary, uſe of coins, we ought to make no mention of them among the *direct* methods of recording events. For all the ancient coins, which have now obtained the name of *medals*,

were nothing more than the ſtamped money of ancient nations. Yet as the monumental uſe of ſuch portable pieces of metal, ſtruck by the direction of a ſtate, were ſo very obvious; it was not long before this double uſe of them was attended to. We know nothing of the impreſſion of the *Cræſii*, coins ſo called from Cræſus, who is the firſt prince in the world whoſe coined money is mentioned by hiſtorians, and which were afterwards recoined by Darius the Mede, and from him received the name of *Darics*. But the Latins coined their firſt money with the head of Saturn on one ſide, and the figure of a ſhip on the other, in memory of his coming into Italy by ſea; and upon every new event, or the acceſſion of a new magiſtrate in the Roman empire, the dies of their coins were changed, to take proper notice of that new circumſtance. No anecdotes, indeed, of a private nature are found on them. For though ſome few pieces under the emperors were coined in honour of the ſenate, the army, or the people; no private perſons had that honour, except they were related to the emperor.

Such a number of events have been recorded by ancient medals, and ſo great has been the care of the moderns, in collecting and preſerving

ſerving them, that they now give great light to hiſtory; in confirming ſuch paſſages as are true in old authors, in aſcertaining what was before doubtful, and in recording ſuch as were omitted. It is remarkable that hiſtory ſcarce makes any mention of Balbec, or Palmyra, whoſe ruins are ſo famous; and we have little knowledge of them but what is ſupplied by inſcriptions. It is by this means that Mr. Vaillant has diſembroiled a hiſtory which was loſt to the world before his time. For out of a ſhort collection of medals he has given us an entire chronicle of the kings of Syria; though it will hardly be regarded as ſupplying any important defect in hiſtory, that medals inform us of wives and children of emperors, which have not been taken notice of by any perſon whatever.

All the principal events of the reign of Lewis XIV. have been recorded in a ſet of medals, ſtruck for that very purpoſe. But the inconvenience attending modern medals is, that, not being uſed as the current coin of any ſtate, and being made of very coſtly materials, they are confined to the cabinets of a few perſons. This was not the caſe of any of the ancient medals, except a few of a larger ſize, and more curious workmanſhip, which were

ſtruck by the emperors for preſents to their friends, foreign princes, or ambaſſadors, &c. and which we now diſtinguiſh by the name of *medallions*.

But medals are not only, or perhaps chiefly, valuable as they are a means of preſerving the knowledge of the leading events in hiſtory; they have likewiſe been a means of tranſmitting to us a more perfect knowledge of many things which we are deſirous of forming an idea of, than any hiſtory, by means of verbal deſcription, could poſſibly give us. We find upon them traces of *cuſtoms* and *manners*, the figures of ancient buildings, inſtruments, habits, and of a variety of things which ſhow the ſtate of the *arts* and conveniencies of life, in the age wherein the medals were ſtruck; and many things in *nature* which hiſtorians have paſſed unnoticed, as being familiar in the times in which they wrote, or have omitted, as not being aware that they would ever engage the curioſity of after ages.

It is alſo very amuſing to view upon medals the features of the great men of antiquity; which, if they were ſtruck in an age in which the arts flouriſhed, as is the caſe with many of the Roman, and particularly of the Grecian medals, we can have no doubt but that they

are

are ſufficiently exact. And even if they were ſtruck in an age which did not excel in the arts of painting, ſtatuary, and carving; yet, as faces are chiefly drawn upon coins in *profile*, any perſon who has taken notice of *ſhadows*, may conceive that a very ſtriking likeneſs may eaſily be hit off in that way. However, in general, ſo extremely exact are the drawings of moſt ſingle objects upon the old medals of the beſt ages, that even thoſe famous painters Raphael, Le Bruyn, and Rubens, thought it worth their while thoroughly to ſtudy them, and preſerve cabinets of them. And indeed the generality of figures on many of the Grecian medals have a deſign, an attitude, a force, and a delicacy, in the expreſſion even of the muſcles and veins of human figures, and they are ſupported by ſo high a relief, that they infinitely ſurpaſs both the Roman medals, and moſt of the moderns. The only defect in the drawing upon old medals is, that buildings, and other objects, are ſeen only in front, and never in perſpective, an art with which the ancients were but little acquainted.

Upon medals are ſeen plans of the moſt conſiderable *buildings* of ancient Rome. One might make an entire gallery, ſays Mr. Addiſon, out of the plans that are to be met with on

on the reverſes of ſeveral old coins. We ſee alſo the *habits*, and *dreſſes* of different perſons, in different ages; and moreover not only *things* but *cuſtoms*, civil and religious, are preſerved upon coins, as ſacrifices, triumphs, congiaries, allocutions, decurſions, lectiſterniums, and many other antiquated names and ceremonies, that we ſhould not have had ſo juſt a notion of, were they not ſtill preſerved on coins. Without the help of coins, as the ſame author pleaſantly obſerves, we ſhould never have known which of the emperors was the firſt that wore a beard, or rode in ſtirrups.

Old coins exhibit likewiſe the general *character* and *taſte* of the ſeveral emperors. Thus we ſee Nero with a fiddle, and Commodus dreſſed in his lion's ſkin; though we are not to truſt to coins for the characters of princes. If ſo, Claudius would be as great a conqueror as Julius Cæſar, and Domitian as good a man as Titus For though the coinage at Rome was ſubject to the direction of the ſenate, there is no doubt but that in this, as in every thing elſe, they conſulted the taſte and pleaſure of the emperors.

Several of theſe advantages medals poſſeſs in common with ſome monumental inſcriptions. They alſo agree in this, that from medals

dals and inſcriptions only we can form any idea of the progreſs of the art and manner of *writing* in different nations and ages. Writing upon other materials could not be expected to be ſo durable. In fact, the oldeſt manuſcripts are few, and modern, in compariſon of thouſands of coins and inſcriptions.

Upon medals are preſerved the entire forms of many ancient *edifices*, and probably the attitudes of famous *ſtatues*, and copies of celebrated *paintings*, of which there are now no other remains. What confirms this conjecture is, that four of the moſt beautiful ſtatues extant, viz. Hercules of Farneſe, Venus de Mediciis, Apollo of Belvedere, and the famous Marcus Aurelius on horſeback, do all of them make their appearance on ancient medals; though this was not known till the ſtatues themſelves were diſcovered.

On the ſubject of the uſe of ancient medals (though it be an uſe of them that has little relation to hiſtory) I ſhall juſt mention the principal ſubject of Mr. Addiſon's ingenious treatiſe on medals, viz. that ancient medals and ancient poetry throw great light upon one another. He has there exhibited a variety of examples, in which the poet and the artiſt who made the medal, have had the ſame *thought*, or

or copied from the ſame common original; the very ſame thing being deſcribed in verſe, and expreſſed in ſculpture. He has likewiſe preſented us with a curious ſet of medals which clear up ſeveral difficult paſſages in old authors, and he has produced many paſſages from the poets, which explain the reverſes of ſeveveral medals; ſo that the ſcience of medals makes no inconſiderable figure in the *Belles Lettres*.

What the ancients made a ſecondary and ſubordinate uſe of their coins, modern European ſtates have attended to, as a primary and direct object. They have ſtruck a variety of medals with no other view than to celebrate ſome illuſtrious perſon, or to perpetuate the knowledge of ſome memorable event. For modern medals do not paſs currrent in payment, as money; but at the ſame time that they anſwer this, their primary uſe, more completely, by containing more circumſtances of a tranſaction, and being furniſhed with more preciſe dates; in every other reſpect they ſhow a manifeſt want of judgment and true taſte; and, but that it is impoſſible we ſhould be deceived in the manners and cuſtoms of our own times, they might greatly miſlead us in thoſe reſpects.

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With the method of coining, we have ſlaviſhly copied the manners, cuſtoms, habits, and and even the religion, of the ancients, with the ſame abſurdity, and in the ſame degree, as we have done in our poetry. This, from the nature of things, muſt ever be the fate of all *imitations*, that are not made immediately from nature. If we copy from other imitations, we ſhall always copy too much, an error to which the inventors of any art, who copy only from nature and real life, are not liable. For this reaſon every borrowed art will always betray its original. Thus, though, in ancient medals, we may trace all the variations of mode in dreſs, in the modern we cannot; all perſons without diſtinction, being commonly ſeen in a Roman habit. From the ancient medals we may form ſome idea of the cuſtoms and religion of the country in which they were ſtruck; but we might conclude all the modern European ſtates to be, in part at leaſt, Heathen, from their medals. Had the Greeks and Romans been guilty of the ſame extravagance, we ſhould not have found half the uſes of their medals that we now do. It is impoſſible to learn from the French medals, either the religion, the cuſtoms, or the habits, of the French nation.

With

With regard to *taſte* in medals, the moderns attending principally to their hiſtorical uſes, have crowded them too much with inſcriptions; ſometimes for want of room, putting a part of the legend upon the external edge of the piece; whereas the inſcriptions upon moſt ancient medals are extremely conciſe and elegant. We even find entire copies of verſes on ſome modern medals, and on others ſo abſurd and extravagant a taſte is ſhown, that the year of our Lord is diſtinguiſhed by the letters in the inſcription which denote it being raiſed above the reſt. Laſtly, which is very remarkable, conſidering the great improvement of the arts in general; many of the ancient medals, as was hinted before, particularly thoſe of the kings of Macedon, are ſaid by the connoiſſeurs to exceed any thing of modern date in the beauty of their workmanſhip, and the delicacy of expreſſion. During the time of the early Roman Emperors, the medals had a more beautiful *relief* than the modern. But about the time of Conſtatine they became quite flat, as thoſe of all European ſtates, which imitated them, likewiſe were, till of late years. We likewiſe copied the Conſtantinopolitan coinage in England till about the reign of Henry VII. in drawing a full face; whereas all faces were drawn

drawn in profile (which is, on many accounts, far the moſt proper for a coin) till the end of the third century.

Conſidering the principal hiſtorical uſes of medals, without entering into all the fanciful views of a *virtuoſo*, intent upon completing his ſeveral ſuites, it will appear no paradox that the *value* of a medal is not to be eſtimated either from the ſize, or the materials of it; but from what is curious in the head, the reverſe, or the legend of it; from its *rarity*, from the fineneſs of its workmanſhip, or from the goodneſs of its preſervation. Thus an Otho in ſilver is common and cheap; but an Otho in bronze is very ſcarce, and bears an immenſe price.

In modern times *coats of arms* have been made uſe of to diſtinguiſh families. They muſt therefore be of great uſe in tracing pedigrees, and conſequently in aſcertaining perſons and events in hiſtory.

The origin of armories ſeem to be aſcribed with the greateſt probability to the ancient tournaments. Henry the Fowler, who regulated the tournaments in Germany, was the firſt who introduced theſe marks of honour. Coats of arms were then a kind of livery, compoſed of ſeveral bars, filets, and colours, to diſtinguiſh

tinguiſh the combatants, whoſe features could not be ſeen during the engagement. And thoſe who had not been concerned in any tournaments had no arms, though they were gentlemen.

Such of the nobility and gentry as croſſed the ſea, in the expedition to the holy land, alſo aſſumed theſe tokens of honour, to diſtinguiſh themſelves.

Before thoſe times we find nothing upon ancient tombs but croſſes, with gothic inſcriptions, and repreſentations of the perſons deceaſed. The tomb of pope Clement IV. who died in one thouſand two hundred and ſixty-eight, is the firſt whereon we find any *arms;* nor do they appear on any coin ſtruck before the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty-ſix. We meet with figures, it is true, much more ancient, both in ſtandards and on medals; but neither princes nor cities ever had arms in form, nor does any author make mention of *blazoning* before that time.

Originally, none but the nobility had the right of bearing arms. But Charles V. king of France, having ennobled the Pariſians, by his charter, in one thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-one, permitted them to bear arms. From their example, the moſt eminent citizens of other places did the like.

Cambden

Cambden ſays the uſe of arms was not eſtabliſhed till the reign of Henry III. and he inſtances in ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable families in England; whereas till that time the ſon always bore arms different from thoſe of the father. About the ſame time it became the cuſtom in England for private gentlemen to bear arms, borrowing them from the lords of whom they held in fee, or to whom they were the moſt devoted.

Arms at preſent are of the nature of *titles*, being both alike *hereditary*, and the marks for diſtinguiſhing families and kindred, as names are of perſons and individuals.*

All the methods of tranſmitting the knowledge of events to poſterity which have hitherto been mentioned, being more ſimple, and requiring leſs ability, would probably precede *hiſtories*, or narratives written upon light and portable materials; though theſe, no doubt, would be very ſhort, plain, and devoid of ornament at firſt. The traces of facts left by the practice of preceding methods muſt alſo have been the only ſources from which the firſt hiſtorians could derive their materials for the hiſ-

* Every thing relating to the Feudal ſyſtem being aboliſhed in France, neither titles of nobility, nor coats of arms, are uſed there.

tories of times paſt. And ſince all nations, and all arts, approach to perfection by degrees, it is probable that traditional poems and monuments, with or without inſcriptions, &c. would abound in thoſe countries which produced the firſt hiſtorians.

LECTURE VII.

The Tranſition from public Monuments to written Hiſtories. Records and Archives of States. At what Time Chronology began to be attended to. Early Methods of noting the Intervals of Time. At what Time the Hiſtory of this weſtern Part of the World begins to be credible. Ancient Hiſtorians to be preferred, who write of the Events of their own Times. Modern Hiſtory beſt underſtood a conſiderable Time after the Events.

THE tranſition from public monuments to written hiſtories may eaſily be conceived to have been gradual, and almoſt inſenſible. For the firſt writings, or records in an hiſtorical form, were not the work of private perſons, who wrote either for their own reputation, or the ſervice of the public; but were made under the direction of ſome public magiſtrate; and,

and, like the Capitoline tables, contained little more than a catalogue of the chief magiſtrates, and the bare mention of the principal events which happened under their adminiſtration. Such, probably, were the records of the archons of Athens, the catalogue of the prieſteſſes of Juno Argiva, and not much more, probably, were the chronicles of the kings of Judah, Iſrael and Perſia, of which mention is made in the Scriptures.

Few attempts were made by private perſons to compoſe hiſtory in the Greek language (in which the oldeſt writings now extant, except thoſe of the Old Teſtament, are contained) before Herodotus, who is therefore ſtyled *the father of hiſtory*, and who wrote about four hundred and fifty years before Chriſt. Hiſtory never contained any variety of intereſting and curious particulars, nor received any of thoſe graces and ornaments, which render the ſtudy of it *liberal*, and engaging to the perſons not concerned in the tranſactions it records, till men of literature and leiſure gave their time and abilities to the ſubject.

As but *few* tranſactions could be tranſmitted by all the methods in uſe for recording them before the writing of hiſtory, and as hiſtorians themſelves afford no ſufficient dates for meaſuring

ſuring the intervals of paſt time without *chronology;* it will be uſeful, in order to form a general idea about what time the bulk of hiſtory begins to be worthy of credit, to give ſome account of the time when hiſtory began to be written, and chronology to be attended to, in ſome countries of principal note. In this I ſhall chiefly follow ſir Iſaac Newton.

The Europeans had no chronology before the time of the Perſian empire, and whatever chronology they now have of more ancient times has been framed ſince, by reaſoning and conjecture. What they call *the hiſtorical age* wants a good chronology for ſixty or ſeventy olympiads, and from ſuch wandering people as were formerly in Europe, there could be no memory of things done three or four generations before the uſe of letters.

Cadmus Mileſius, and Acuſilaus, the oldeſt hiſtorians among the Greeks, Joſephus ſays, were but a little before the expedition of the Perſians againſt Greece. Hellanicus was twelve years older than Herodotus, and digeſted his hiſtory by *ages*, or the ſucceſſion of the prieſteſſes of Juno Argiva. Others digeſted theirs by the archons of Athens, or the kings of Lacedæmon. Herodotus himſelf uſes no particular æra. Thucydides makes uſe of the commencement

mencement of the Peloponneſian war, which is the ſubject of his hiſtory, as an æra to which he refers all the events he mentions. Ephorus, who brought his hiſtory to the twentieth year of Philip of Macedon, digeſted things by *generations*. The reckoning by *olympiads*, or any other fixed *æra*, was not yet in uſe among the Greeks. The Arundelian marbles were compoſed ſixty years after the death of Alexander the Great, and yet mention not the olympiads, nor any other ſtanding æra, but reckon backward from the time then preſent. In the next olympiad, Timæus Siculus wrote a hiſtory down to his own times, according to the olympiads. Eratoſthenes wrote about one hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great, and was followed by Apollodorus; and theſe two have been followed by all chronologers.

As Cambyſes deſtroyed all the records of Egypt, ſuch as they were, we have no account of that people which can be depended upon before their intercourſe with the Greeks, from whom, indeed is derived all that we know of them, and that was not before the time of Pſammeticus, who began his reign in the year ſix hundred and ſixty-one before Chriſt. This we learn from Herodotus, who, when he is ſpeaking of thoſe Grecians who had helped to

ſet Pſammeticus on the throne of Egypt, ſays that the Ionians and Carians continued for a long time to inhabit thoſe parts which lay near the ſea, below the city of Bubaſtis, in the Peluſiac branch of the Nile, till in ſucceeding times Amaſis king of Egypt cauſed them to abandon their habitations, and ſettle at Memphis, to defend him againſt the Egyptians. But from the time of their eſtabliſhment, he ſays, they had ſo conſtant a communication with the Greeks, that one may juſtly ſay we know all things that paſſed in Egypt from the reign of Pſammeticus to our age.

The chronology of the Latins is ſtill more uncertain than that of the Greeks. Both Plutarch and Servius repreſent great uncertainty in the originals of Rome; and no wonder, conſidering that the old records of the Latins were burned by the Gauls, one hundred and twenty-ſix years after the Regifuge, and one hundred and ſixty years before the death of Alexander the Great. Quintus Fabius Pictor, the oldeſt hiſtorian of the Latins, lived one hundred years later than Alexander, and took almoſt every thing from Diocles Peparethus, a Greek.

When the Greeks and Latins were forming their technical chronology, there were great

great diſputes about the antiquity of Rome. The Greeks made it much older than the Olympiads. Some of them ſaid it was built by Æneas; others by Romus, the ſon or grandſon of Æneas; others by a Romus, the ſon or grandſon of Latinus, king of the Aborigines; others by Romus the ſon of Ulyſſes, or of Aſcanius, or of Italus; and ſome of the Latins at firſt fell in with the opinion of the Greeks, ſaying that it was built by Romulus, the ſon, or grandſon, of Æneas. Timæus Siculus repreſents it as built by Romulus the grandſon of Æneas, above one hundred years before the Olympiads, and ſo did Nævius the poet, who was twenty years older than Ennius, ſerved in the firſt Punic war, and wrote a hiſtory of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon; but about a hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty years after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to ſay that Rome was built a ſecond time by Romulus, in the fifteenth age after the deſtruction of Troy, meaning by *ages*, the reigns of the kings of the Latins at Alba.*

Scythia beyond the Danube had no letters before Ulphilas their biſhop introduced them, ſix hundred years after the death of Alexan-

* Newton's Chron. p. 125.

der; and the Germans had none till they received them from the weſtern empire of the Latins, about ſeven hunderd years after the death of that king. The Huns had none in the days of Procopius, who flouriſhed eight hundred and fifty years after the death of that king, and Sweden and Norway received them ſtill later.*

With regard to England, the Romans are the firſt nation from whom we learn any account of it, and the Engliſh had no writers of their own till the planting of chriſtianity, in the time of the Saxon heptarchy. But from this time the church and the cloiſters furniſhed a conſtant ſucceſſion till the reformation; after which, and the revival of letters in the reſt, there can be no complaint of want of writers, of any kind, or party. And as to the bulk of modern hiſtory in general, and indeed a great part of what is now called ancient too; lord Bolingbroke juſtly obſerves, that ſince ancient memorials have been ſo critically examined, and modern memorials have been ſo multiplied, it contains ſuch a probable ſeries of events, eaſily diſtinguiſhable from improbable, as forces the aſſent of every man who is in his ſenſes, and is ſufficient to anſwer all the purpoſes of the ſtudy of hiſtory.

* Newton's Chron. p. 50.

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It may not be amiſs to cloſe this account of *hiſtorians* properly ſo called, with obſerving, that, of ancient hiſtorians, a contemporary writer is to be preferred; but that among the moderns, a later writer is almoſt univerſally preferable. The ancients we credit in proportion to the merit of their *evidence* for what they relate. The moderns we chiefly regard according to their accuracy and diligence in comparing and aſcertaining the evidence they can collect from others. The difference is founded on this conſideration, that for want of memorials of ancient tranſactions, the more time has elapſed after they happened, the more dubious the hiſtory grows. Whereas in modern times, every event of conſequence is inſtantly committed to writing, in ſome form or other, by a thouſand hands. Theſe are brought to light only by degrees; and conſidering that no perſon, or thoſe immediately connected with him, can know the whole of any very complex tranſaction, and moreover that no perſon who writes the hiſtory of his own times can eſcape the influence of prejudice, for or againſt particular perſons and ſchemes; a later writer, who views things with more coolneſs, and has a greater variety of materials to compare, has

has certainly a great advantage over any that went before him.

The hiſtory of England till the reformation, there can be no doubt, is far better underſtood this century than it was the laſt; and every year brings us acquainted with ſome new memoir concerning the tranſactions of the middle of that, and the beginning of the preſent century. Nay, ſo much weight is due to this conſideration, that we hardly need ſcruple to ſay, notwithſtanding the loſs of many valuable hiſtories, that we have almoſt as perfect a knowledge of the moſt important events of ſeveral periods even in the claſſical hiſtory as the generality of the Greeks and Romans who lived in thoſe periods could attain to. However, with regard to modern times, a contemporary writer, were he entirely free from prejudice, writes under great diſadvantages, in point of *intelligence* only, in compariſon with one who comes after him; who, with inferior qualifications, will eaſily be able to ſupply his deficiences, if not correct his miſtakes. And it can only be with reſpect to times in which there is a great ſcarcity of materials, and where thoſe have been tranſmitted through the hands of ſeveral dependent evidences, that a contrary rule is to be obſerved.

LECTURE VIII.

Of the indirect Methods of collecting the Knowledge of paſt Events. The Uſe of Books not properly hiſtorical. The Works of Poets, and Orators, and the Remains of Artiſts of all Kinds. Difficulty of a Writer's concealing his Age and Country from a ſagacious Reader. The Fictions of Annius Viterbo. The hiſtorical Uſe of Cicero's Letters. Several Inſtances of Newton's Sagacity in tracing Events by Means of connected Circumſtances. Uſe of Language to an Hiſtorian, in tracing Revolutions in a State. How far any Circumſtances in the Language of a Country may be a Guide in judging of the original Genius and Manners of the People; exemplified in the Hebrew and Roman Tongues. A curious Obſervation of Mr. Hume's on the Uſe of correlative Terms in Languages. Of Simplicity or Refinement in Languages.

THE methods of recording events which have hitherto been mentioned may be termed *direct*, becauſe they were contrived, and made uſe of, for that purpoſe; and the notices of paſt events with which they furniſh us are the moſt copious ſource of Hiſtory in after ages. But there is a variety of other methods in which the knowledge of events, and

and of the ſituation of things in times paſt, is communicated to us *indirectly;* as from many circumſtances, which do not at all partake of the nature of *records*, perſons of ſagacity and attention will be able to form an idea of the ſtate of things, and to diſtinguiſh the intervals of time, in paſt ages. I ſhall mention a few of theſe, in order to give you ſome idea what a variety of things an accurate hiſtorian muſt attend to, and from what unexpected quarters he may ſometimes receive the greateſt light and information.

In the firſt place, it will eaſily be apprehended, that in order to form a complete idea of characters and events which occur in any period of hiſtory, we are not to confine ourſelves to books profeſſedly hiſtorical. For ſo extenſive is the connexion of things with one another, that every thing written or done, in any period of time, is neceſſarily related, in a thouſand ways, to many other things that were tranſacted at the ſame time; and therefore cannot help bearing ſome marks and traces of thoſe related particulars; and by theſe a perſon of ſagacity will be led to the knowledge of more things than he who tranſmitted the accounts of them intended to ſignify. For this reaſon, to form as complete an idea

idea as poſſible of the ſtate of things in any period of paſt time, we muſt carefully ſtudy all the remains of that time, how foreign ſoever they may at firſt ſight appear to be to our main purpoſe. In this ſenſe, even poets and orators may be conſidered as hiſtorians, and every law and cuſtom as a piece of hiſtory.

To ſo great perfection are men arrived in diſtinguiſhing things that have any real connexion, that the age of almoſt every writing that remains of ancient times is determined with great exactneſs. Indeed, a writer who has no particular deſign to conceal the time in which he writes, can hardly avoid introducing (in one manner or other) the mention of ſuch particulars as will direct to it; or if he intend to impoſe upon the world, it is a thouſand to one but, if nothing elſe, his *language* and *ſtyle* betray him. Theſe are things which are perfectly mechanical, and leaſt of all at a perſon's command; or, however, what few perſons ever think of diſguiſing.

There is no doubt, in particular, but that all the pieces which *Annius* of *Viterbo* endeavoured to palm upon the world as ancient writings have been expoſed; the innumerable fabulous legends about our Saviour, the apoſtles, and many of the popiſh ſaints, which long

long paſſed current, are now no longer regarded; and the famous *Decretals*, of which the popes availed themſelves ſo much in dark ages, are now acknowledged to be forgeries, even by the catholics themſelves; while the real productions of antiquity ſtand their ground the firmer from theſe critical examinations; and all the arguments of pere Harduin (who from ſeeing numberleſs forgeries was led to ſuſpect forgery every where) has not probably been able to make one genuine claſſic author ſuſpected.

A few examples will more clearly ſhow what uſe an attentive hiſtorian may make of books not properly hiſtorical. No hiſtorian now extant, or probably that ever was extant, will give a perſon ſo much inſight into the real characters, and views, of thoſe great men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the time of Cicero, as he may get from that collection of letters between Cicero and his friends, which paſs under his name, and particularly from his correſpondence with Atticus. Theſe letters, indeed, are written with ſo few interruptions, and with ſo much freedom, that they contain a pretty regular, and very faithful hiſtory of the moſt active and critical part of his life. They ſhow us, at leaſt, in what light Cicero himſelf,

himſelf, who was a principal actor in that important period, viewed the characters and events of his time. And private *diaries*, and letters, written by perſons who were the chief actors on the theatre of European politics in the laſt century, are daily coming to light, and ſupplying great defects in all our hiſtorians.

Sir Iſaac Newton, from two paſſages in the poems of Theognis of Megara, collects both the age of that writer and the ſituation of the Greeks in his time. That poet exhorts his companions to be unanimous, and to drink and be merry, without fear of the Medes; and he ſays that Magneſia, Colophon, and Smyrna, Grecian cities of Aſia Minor, were deſtroyed by diſcord. From theſe circumſtances he infers that, in the time of this author, Cyrus had conquered thoſe cities of the Greeks in Aſia, that the ſtates of Greece in Europe were under great apprehenſion of being invaded, and that the Perſians had not then aſſumed the ſuperiority over the Medes, which they afterwards did.

The *language* of a people is a great guide to an hiſtorian, both in tracing their origin, and in diſcovering the ſtate of many other important circumſtances relating to them. Of all

cuſtoms

cuſtoms and habits, that of *ſpeech*, being the moſt frequently exerciſed, is the moſt confirmed, and leaſt liable to change. Colonies, therefore, will always ſpeak the language of their mother country, unleſs ſome event produce a freer intercourſe with people who ſpeak another language; and even the proportion of that foreign intercourſe may in ſome meaſure be eſtimated by the *degree* of the corruption of the language. A few facts will clearly explain theſe poſitions.

The conſiderable change which the Hebrew language underwent at the time of the Babyloniſh captivity would be ſufficient to inform us without the aid of any other circumſtance, that few of the old inhabitants remained in the country, and that thoſe who were carried away captive were either much ſeparated from one another, or did not return in great numbers. The few and inconſiderable remains of the Britiſh language in the preſent Engliſh demonſtrates, beyond all contradiction, the havock that was made of the Britons by the Saxons, amounting almoſt to a total extirpation and expulſion. And the Saxon language ſpoken in the lowlands of Scotland is a greater proof that they were ſometime or other conquered by the Saxons, than

than the imperfect and fabulous annals of the Scotch hiſtorians are of the contrary.

But the uſe of language to an hiſtorian is by no means confined to diſcover the origin of a nation, or the greater revolutions that have befallen it. Language takes a tincture from the civil policy, the manners, cuſtoms, employment, and taſte, of the nation that uſes it, by means of which a perſon well verſed in the theory of language will be able to make many curious diſcoveries. An example or two will make this obſervation alſo pretty plain.

It has been obſerved that the frequent alluſions to military affairs, or concealed metaphors borrowed from the art or practice of war in the common forms of ſpeech in the Roman tongue (ſuch as *intervallum*, a term ſignifying *diſtance* ſimply, though borrowed from fortification) and many others of the like nature, clearly inform us that the Romans were a people originally addicted to war. Like traces of a paſtoral life and the buſineſs of huſbandry, are found in the Hebrew language, which is therefore equally characteriſtic of the genius and manner of life of that people. And if we only conſider that all people muſt be under the greateſt neceſſity of inventing terms to expreſs the ideas of things about which they are the

moſt early and the moſt frequently converſant, and that theſe terms, preferably to others, are univerſally transferred to things analogous to them (becauſe moſt alluſions will neceſſarily be made to things of the moſt frequent occurrence) this method of tracing the original genius, manners, and employment of a nation, ſubtle as at firſt ſight it may appear, will eaſily be perceived to have a foundation in nature; and we may ſee that, were a language thoroughly examined in this view, many clear and unqueſtionable concluſions of this kind might be drawn from it.

It is obſervable that the word in the Hebrew which ſignifies a *ſtranger*, is derived from another word which ſignifies to *fear*, and that *hoſtis* in Latin originally ſignified both a *ſtranger* and an *enemy*. Are not both theſe circumſtances plain indications that, in the times when thoſe languages were formed, there was little intercourſe between different nations, and that travelling was very hazardous?

From the following curious obſervation on the nature and progreſs of language, Mr. Hume, with great ingenuity, and appearance of reaſon, argues that population was little encouraged by the Romans among their ſlaves. In all languages, when two related parts of *a whole*

whole bear any ſenſible proportion to each other, in numbers, rank, or conſideration, there are always *correlative terms* invented, which anſwer to both of the parts, and expreſs their mutual relation; whereas if they bear no ſenſible proportion to each other, a name is invented for the leſs only, and no particular term is thought of to diſtinguiſh the more conſiderable part from the other. Thus *man* and *woman*, *maſter* and *ſervant*, *prince* and *ſubject*, *ſtranger* and *citizen*, are correlative terms in all languages, indicating that each part ſignified by them bears a conſiderable proportion to the other, that both are frequently mentioned in oppoſition to one another, and are often compared together. But *verna*, the Latin name for a *ſlave born in the family*, has no correlative; which clearly indicates that that ſpecies of ſlaves bore no ſenſible proportion to the reſt, and would not bear to be compared with them.

By the ſame method of reaſoning, we infer that the military part of ancient Rome bore a greater proportion to the huſbandmen than they do among us, becauſe with them the terms *miles* and *paganus* were correlative; and that the *prieſts* of Rome were never conſidered as a part of the community diſtinct from the reſt, becauſe there is not in Latin any term to

denote the *laity*, in oppoſition to the *clergy*, as there is in all chriſtian countries.

It may juſt be mentioned in this place, that copiouſneſs and refinement in language always keep pace with improvements in the arts and conveniencies of life, and with the progreſs of ſcience in a country. Diſcoveries of other kinds, made by the medium of language might be mentioned, but theſe are ſufficient to ſhow of what importance the ſtudy of language may be to a perſon who would get a thorough inſight into the hiſtory, the genius, and the manners of a people.

LECTURE IX.

Connexion of Hiſtory and Law. The ſtate of paternal and filial Affection among the Romans, as ſeen by the Tenor of the Civil Law. Cuſtoms and general Maxims of the ſame Uſe as Laws. Uſe of Laws in tracing the original Genius and Manner of Life of a People. Change in Laws corresponding with a Change of Manners, exemplified in the feudal Syſtem in England. Simplicity or intricacy of Law. Hale's Inferences from a Law of Canute's.

THE *laws* of a country are neceſſarily connected with every thing belonging to the people

ple of it; ſo that a thorough knowledge of *them*, and of their progreſs, would inform us of every thing that was moſt uſeful to be known about them; and one of the greateſt imperfections of hiſtorians in general is owing to their ignorance of law. Indeed hardly any perſon, except a native, can come at an intimate knowledge of the laws of any country. But it is greatly to be lamented that things ſo nearly connected as *law* and *hiſtory* ſhould have been ſo ſeldom joined. For though the hiſtory of battles and ſtate intrigues be more engaging to the bulk of readers, who have no reliſh for any thing but what intereſts the *paſſions;* from the knowledge of the progreſs of laws, and changes of conſtitution, in a ſtate, a politician may derive more uſeful information, and a philoſopher more rational entertainment, than from any other object he can attend to. I ſhall mention a few particulars, by way of illuſtration of what I have now advanced.

As every new law is made to remove ſome inconvenience the ſtate was ſubject to before the making of it, and for which no other method of redreſs was effectual, the law itſelf is a ſtanding, and the moſt authentic, evidence we can require of the ſtate of things previous

to it. Indeed, from the time that laws began to be written in ſome regular form, the preamble to each of them is often an hiſtorical account of the evil intended to be remedied by it, as is the caſe with many of the Engliſh ſtatutes. But a ſagacious hiſtorian has little occaſion for any preamble to laws. They ſpeak ſufficiently plain of themſelves.

When we read that a law was made by Clothaire king of France, that no perſon ſhould be condemned without being heard, do we need being told that before the time of the enacting that law the adminiſtration of juſtice was very irregular in that country, and that a man could have little ſecurity for his liberty, property, or life? Is it not a proof that the ſpirit of hoſpitality began to decline among the Burgundians as they grew more civilized, when there was occaſion for a law to puniſh any Burgundian who ſhould a ſhow a ſtranger to the houſe of a Roman, inſtead of entertaining him himſelf?

It is but an unfavourable idea that we form of the ſtate of paternal and filial affection among the Romans, from the tenor of their laws, which ſhow an extreme anxiety to reſtrain parents from doing injuſtice to their own children. Children (ſay their laws) are not to be

be diſinherited without juſt cauſe, chiefly that of ingratitude; the cauſe muſt be ſet forth in the teſtament; it muſt be tried by the judge, and verified by witneſſes, if denied. Whereas among other nations, natural affection, without the aid of law, is a ſufficient motive with parents to do no injuſtice to their children. A knowledge of another part of the political conſtitution of the Romans will probably help us to a reaſon for the uncommon defect of natural affection among them. The *patria poteſtas* was in reality the power of a maſter over a ſlave, the very knowledge, and idea, of which, though it were not often exerciſed, was enough to produce ſeverity in parents, and fear and diffidence in children, which muſt deſtroy mutual confidence and affection.

Cuſtoms, and general maxims of conduct, being of the nature of unwritten laws, give us the ſame inſight into the ſtate of things in a country. The high eſteem in which hoſpitality is held by the Arabs, and the religious, and even ſuperſtitious practice of it by them, and by other ſavage nations, ſhows the great want there is of that virtue in thoſe countries, and that travelling is particularly dangerous in them.

The laws and cuſtoms of a country ſhow

clearly what was the manner of living and the occupation of the original inhabitants of it. Thus where we find that the eldeſt ſons ſucceed to the whole, or the greateſt part of the eſtate, we may be ſure that we ſee traces of feudal notions, of a military life, and a monarchical government, in which a prince is better ſerved by one powerful vaſſal than by ſeveral weak ones. Where the children ſucceed equally, it is a mark of a ſtate having been addicted to huſbandry, and inclined to a popular equal government. And where the youngeſt ſucceeds, we may take it for granted that the people formerly lived a paſtoral and roving life, in which it is natural for the oldeſt to be provided for, and diſpoſed of, the firſt; and the youngeſt to take what was left: a manner of life which requires, and admits of, little or no regular government.

The change of manners, and way of living, may be traced in the changes of the laws. Thus the change from a military to a commercial ſtate may be traced in England by the progreſs of the laws, particularly thoſe relating to the alienation of landed property; a thing abſolutely inconſiſtent with ſtrict feudal notions, and for a long time impracticable in that country; but which took place by

by degrees, as the intereſts of commerce were perceived to require that every thing valuable ſhould circulate as freely as poſſible in a ſtate. It muſt, however, be conſidered, that the change of laws does not keep an equal pace with the change of manners, but follows ſometimes far behind. In almoſt every caſe, the reaſon and neceſſity of the thing firſt introduces a change in the *practice*, before the authority of *law* confirms and authorizes it. This too is eaſy to be traced in many of the Engliſh laws, and particularly thoſe which relate to the eaſy tranſferring of landed property, for the purpoſe of trade and commerce.

Without entering into particular laws, we may obſerve of the ſtate of laws in general, as was obſerved with regard to language, that copiouſneſs and refinement in them, and even intricacy and tediouſneſs in the adminiſtration of them, is an indication of freedom, and of improvements in civilized life; and that few laws, and an expeditious adminiſtration, are marks either of the connexions of perſons being very few, and little involved (which is a neceſſary conſequence of improvements) that the rights of perſons have not been attended to, and that the nation is but little advanced in

in the knowledge or poſſeſſion of thoſe things on which their happineſs and ſecurity chiefly depend; or that too arbitrary a power is lodged in ſome hands or other; it being well obſerved by Monteſquieu, that the tediouſneſs and expence of law-ſuits is the price of liberty. It is very poſſible, however, that both the laws of a country, and the adminiſtration of them, may be rendered much leſs complex than they commonly are, without any diminution of general liberty; and but little benefit can accrue from laws, when it is either impoſſible to know what they are, or when the expence of having recourſe to them is greater than can be afforded.

To make you ſenſible with what attention laws ſhould be conſidered, and how many diſtinct circumſtances a perſon of ſagacity may learn from them; I ſhall quote the obſervations which lord chief juſtice Hale makes upon a law of king Canute, which is as follows in Lambard's collection: *Sive quis incuria, ſive morte repentina fuerit inteſtato mortuus, dominus tamen nullam rerum ſuarum partem, preter eam quæ jure debetur hereoti nomine, ſibi aſſumito; verum eas, juditio ſuo, uxori, liberis, et cognationi proximis juſte, pro ſuo cuique jure, diſtribuito.* "If any perſon dying by acci-

"dent,

" dent, or ſuddenly, ſhall be inteſtate, let " not the lord take any part of his goods, " except what may be due to him as a *heriot;* " but let him, uſing his beſt judgment, diſ- " tribute them to his wife, children, and " neareſt relations, according to their reſpec- " tive claims."

Upon this he obſerves five things, 1. That in thoſe times the wife had a ſhare as well of the lands, as of the goods for her dower; 2. That, in reference to hereditary ſucceſſions, there ſeemed to be little difference between lands and goods; for this law makes no diſtinction; 3. That there was a kind of ſettled right of ſucceſſion with reference to proximity and remoteneſs of blood or kin; 4. That with reſpect to children, they all ſeemed to ſucceed alike without any diſtinction between males and females; 5. That the anceſtor, however, might diſpoſe of his lands, as well as goods, by will.

LECTURE X.

The Uſe of Obſervations on the Intervals between the Generations of Men and Succeſſions of Kings, to aſcertain the Dates of paſt Events. The Antiquity

tiquity of theſe Methods of noticing Intervals of Time. Fallacious Method of computing by them. Eaſy Correction of that Fallacy; by which Newton has amended the Chronology of ancient Kingdoms and Nations. The Interval between the Return of the Heraclidæ and the Battle of Thermopylæ determined by Succeſſions: The ſame Interval aſcertained by Generations. The Time of the Argonautic Expedition determined by two Courſes of Generation. Extravagance of the Greek Chronology. Improbable Circumſtances in the commonly received Chronology of Rome. The Time of the Siege of Troy comes to be the ſame, computing by Succeſſions in Italy, and by Succeſſions and Generations in Greece; and is agreeable to what Appian writes from the Archives of Carthage.

MANY obſervations on the common courſe of human life will enable us to determine the intervals of time within which events connected with them have happened. Thoſe of which the moſt uſe has been made are obſervations on *generations of men*, and *ſucceſſions of kings*. For inſtance, when we read in hiſtory, or collect from circumſtances, that a certain number of generations intervened between any two events, or that a certain number of kings reigned in the interval, we ſhall be able to fix the date of the former with reſpect

ſpect to the latter, if we have carefully obſerved (from comparing a ſufficient number of facts) what has been the mean length of a generation, and the mean length of a reign; or at what age men taken, one with another, have had children, and how long kings, in general, have actually reigned.

The uſe of theſe mediums of proof has been acknowledged from the earlieſt writing of hiſtory; and, indeed, ſo obvious is the thought, that the chronology of all the ancient times of the Grecian hiſtory was adjuſted by their oldeſt writers upon theſe principles alone. The misfortune is, that they took their mean length of a *generation*, and alſo that of a *ſucceſſion*, from mere random and fanciful conjectures, and not from a careful obſervation of facts. But it is happy that, though theſe writers have fixed the chronology of ancient times by a fallacious theory, a ſufficient number of the *facts*, to which their theory ought to have correſponded, ſtill remains; by means of which it is eaſy to reform their theory, and rectify their chronology. Indeed, it is a happy circumſtance, that every theory drawn from the ſituation of things in *human life*, is always open to confutation or correction, while the courſe of human life remains

mains the ſame. It is but obſerving how things really are, and whether the theory in queſtion actually correſpond to it, or not.

It is upon theſe principles chiefly that ſir Iſaac Newton has undertaken to rectify the chronology of ancient ſtates and kingdoms; and for examples to theſe obſervations, I ſhall lay before you the evidence on which his admirable theory reſts. In order to this, I ſhall ſtate the principal of thoſe facts the chronology of which has been ſo variouſly repreſented; ſhowing how incompatible with the courſe of nature are the dates that have formerly been aſſigned to them, and which paſſed without examination till the time of this great author, and upon what principles he has reduced their extravagant chronology within the bounds of nature and probability.

In order to have a clearer idea of the connexion of his proofs, I muſt obſerve that the great events, the intervals of which he endeavours to aſcertain, ſucceeded each other in the following order:

The Argonautic expedition.

The ſiege of Troy.

The return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus.

The firſt Meſſenian war.

The

The expedition of Xerxes.

The Peloponneſian war.

Between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus and the battle of Thermopylæ (of the time of which there is no controverſy) there reigned, of one race, the following kings of Lacedæmon, Euriſthenes, Agis, Echeſtratus, Labotas, Doriagus, Ageſilaus, Archelaus, Teleclus, Alchimenes, Polidorus, Euricrates, Anaxander, Euricratides, Leon, Anaxandrides, Cleomenes, and Leonidas, ſeventeen in all, and along with theſe was a ſucceſſion of ſeventeen alſo in the other race. In this interval, therefore, we have a double ſucceſſion of ſeventeen kings. Now, by comparing the chronology of almoſt all the ſucceſſions which have been perfectly aſcertained, ſir Iſaac Newton finds that kings have reigned one with another eighteen or twenty years apiece; and if in any caſe they have exceeded that number of years, it was not in ſuch unſettled times as were thoſe of the Grecian monarchies.

The ſeventeen princes, therefore, according to this computation, allowing them twenty years apiece, which is quite as much as the nature of things will admit of, muſt have reigned three hundred and forty years. Theſe, counted backwards from the ſixth year of Xerxes, and allowing

allowing one or two years more for the war of the Heraclidæ, and the reign of Ariſtodemus, the father of Euriſthenes and Proclus, will place the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus one hundred and fifty-nine years after the death of Solomon, and forty-ſix before the firſt Olympiad in which Chorœbus was victor. But Timæus and his followers have taken the reigns of kings for generations, and reckoned three generations at one hundred, and ſometimes at one hundred and twenty years; and ſo have aſſigned thirty-five or forty years to each king, and accordingly have placed the return of the Heraclidæ two hundred and eighty years earlier than the nature of things can poſſibly admit.

Other facts, with which we are furniſhed by theſe very chronologers, and other ancient writers, enable us to confirm the truth of the preceding interval of time by a different medium of proof. If we conſider the courſe of deſcent in a ſufficient number of families, we ſhall find, that the interval from father to ſon, is, one with another, thirty-three or thirty-four years apiece, and that the intervals between the eldeſt ſons and chiefs of families (ſuch as are moſt taken notice of by hiſtorians) are not more than twenty-eight or thirty years, one with another.

The

The reaſon why a longer interval is aſſigned to *generations of men* than to *ſucceſſions of kings*, is becauſe kings are ſucceeded not only by their ſons, but ſometimes by their brothers; and ſometimes they are ſlain or depoſed, and are ſucceeded by others of an equal age, or even a greater age than themſelves, and eſpecially in elective or turbulent kingdoms.

Admitting the above to be the mean length of generations, if we multiply the number of generations which intervened between any two events by thirty-three or thirty-four, for generations in general, and by twenty-eight or thirty for generations by the eldeſt ſons, we ſhall probably determine the interval with tolerable exactneſs: and when concluſions from this method of computation coincide with thoſe from the other by ſucceſſions of kings, they cannot but be allowed to confirm one another. This we are able to do with reſpect to the greater part of the preceding interval.

From the return of the Heraclidæ to the beginning of the firſt Meſſenian war, there reigned ten kings of Sparta in one race, nine in the other, ten of Meſſene, and nine of Arcadia. Theſe ſucceſſions, if reduced to the courſe of nature, in the method directed above, will ſcarce take up one hundred and eighty, or one

hundred and ninety years; whereas according to chronologers in general, they took up a ſpace of three hundred and ſeventy-nine years. But that one hundred and eighty, or one hundred and ninety years, is the moſt probable interval, appears by an argument drawn from a courſe of generations during the very ſame period.

Euryleon the ſon of Æugeus commanded the main body of the Meſſenians, in the fifth year of the firſt Meſſenian war, and he was in the fifth generation from Oiolochus the ſon of Theras, brother-in-law of Ariſtodemus, and tutor to his ſons Euriſthenes and Proclus, as Pauſanias relates. Conſequently from the return of the Heraclidæ, which was in the days of Theras, to the battle, which was in the fifth year of this war, there were ſix generations, which being, (as is moſt probable) chiefly by the eldeſt ſons, will ſcarce exceed thirty years to a generation, and ſo may amount to one hundred and ſeventy, or one hundred and eighty years. That war laſted nineteen or twenty years, of which add the laſt fifteen years to the five mentioned before, and there will be about one hundred and ninety years to the end of that war; the very length of the ſame interval as determined by the preceding obſervations on the ſucceſſions of kings. But the followers

lowers of Timæus, by making this interval, about three hundred and ſeventy-nine years, muſt allow above ſixty years to a generation, which can by no means be ſuppoſed

To illuſtrate more at large the method of arguing from generations, and at the ſame time to proceed a little farther in giving the outlines of this author's great reformation in ancient chronology, I ſhall relate two other courſes of generations, which fix the time of the Argonautic expedition, an event, which is the grand hinge on which all the chronology of ancient Greece turns, and the date of which, as determined by generations, you will preſently ſee confirmed by another method of inveſtigation on very different principles.

One of theſe courſes of generations extends backwards from the return of the Heraclidæ, where our laſt courſe began, to the expedition, and the other from the Peloponneſian war to the ſame event. Hercules the Argonaut was the father of Hillus, the father of Cleodeus, the father of Ariſtomachus, the father of Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, who led the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus; whence their return was four generations later than the Argonautic expedition; and theſe generations were ſhort ones, being by the chief of the fa-

mily. Count therefore eighty years backward, from the return of the Heraclidæ to the Trojan war, and the taking of Troy will be about ſeventy-ſix years after the death of Solomon; and the Argonautic expedition, which was one generation earlier, will be about forty-three years after it.

Æſculapius and Hercules were Argonauts, and Hippocrates was the eighteenth incluſively, by the father's ſide, from Æſculapius, and the nineteenth from Hercules by the mother's ſide; and becauſe theſe generations, being taken notice of by writers, were moſt probably by the principal of the family, and ſo for the moſt part by the eldeſt ſons, we may reckon about twenty-eight, or at the moſt about thirty years to a generation; and thus the ſeventeen intervals by the father's ſide, and the eighteen by the mother's, at a middle reckoning, amount to above five hundred and ſeven years; which, counted backwards from the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, at which time Hippocrates began to flouriſh, will reach up to the forty-third year after the death of Solomon, and there place the Argonautic expedition; the very year in which we were led to place it by following the former courſe of generations.

The ſame great author aſcertains this, and ſeveral

veral other capital events in the Grecian hiſtory, by ſuch a variety of independent arguments, drawn from the ſame and different mediums, all ſo agreeable to the preſent courſe of nature, that it ſeems impoſſible for a perſon who pays a ſufficient regard to it not to be determined by them. It is ſurpriſing, indeed, that the manifeſt inconſiſtencies of the commonly received chronology with the courſe of nature ſhould not have prevented the eſtabliſhment of it; and it is abſolutely unaccountable, but upon the willingneſs of all men, to admit of any hypotheſis which tends to give dignity to their nations and families, by adding to the antiquity of them. But muſt it not be a more unaccountable attachment to eſtabliſhed hypotheſes which can induce any perſons of the preſent age, after theſe inconſiſtencies have been ſo clearly pointed out, ſtill to adhere to a chronology, which, in thoſe turbulent unſettled times, ſuppoſes kings to have reigned one with another in ſome ſucceſſions thirty-five, in ſome thirty-eight, in ſome forty, in ſome forty-two, in ſome forty-four, and in ſome forty-ſix years apiece; and which generally allows about ſixty years to a generation, and in one inſtance eighty-five?

With reſpect to the chronology of the kings

of Rome, Mr Hooke has ſhown by ſeveral independent arguments, drawn from the connexion of events in the hiſtory of their reigns, that to ſuppoſe them to have reigned one with another nineteen or twenty years makes a more conſiſtent ſeries of facts, than to imagine them to have reigned thirty-five years apiece, which is the common hypotheſis.

The chief inconveniences attending the old chronology in the Roman hiſtory are, that it ſuppoſes an interval of ſixty-three years of peace in that reſtleſs nation before the acceſſion of Tullus Hoſtilius. It makes the reign of Servius Tullius ſo long in proportion to the few cenſuſes, which (according to the moſt authentic records) were taken in his reign, as would argue a moſt unaccountable neglect of his own favourite inſtitution. It obliges us to ſuppoſe Tarquinius Superbus not to have been the ſon of Tarquinius Priſcus, Dido not to have been contemporary with Æneas, or Numa with Pythagoras, as well as Solon with Crœſus in the Grecian hiſtory; all which have the unanimous voice of all tradition in their favour, and which Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, Livy, and Plutarch, expreſs their extreme unwillingneſs to give up, but that they

they were compelled to it by a regard to a chronology which in their times was unqueſtioned. Indeed, the congreſs of Solon and Croeſus, Plutarch expreſſes his determination not to give up, notwithſtanding his general attachment to a theory which would not admit of it, and the fallacy of which he did not ſuſpect. His words are ſo remarkable, and ſhow ſo clearly on how precarious a footing that chronology ſtands, that I ſhall recite them, "The congreſs of Solon with Croeſus ſome think they "can confute by chronology. But a hiſtory "ſo illuſtrious, verified by ſo many witneſſes, "and, which is more, ſo agreeable to the manner of Solon, and worthy of the greatneſs of "his mind and of his wiſdom, I cannot perſuade myſelf to reject becauſe of ſome chronological canons, as they call them; which "an hundred authors correcting, have not "been able to conſtitute any thing certain, "and have not been able to agree amongſt "themſelves about repugnances."

Beſides, to return to the Roman hiſtory; if the number of kings that reigned at Alba be joined to thoſe who reigned at Rome, and they be allowed to have reigned nineteen or twenty years apiece, they will place the coming of

Æneas into Italy, and the ſiege of Troy, exactly in the time in which arguments drawn from generations and ſucceſſions in Greece, as well as aſtronomical calculations (as will hereafter appear) place that event, which is a reciprocal confirmation of the juſt correction both of the Greek and Latin chronology. For from Latinus to Numitor are ſixteen kings, who reigned at Alba; Romulus was contemporary with Numitor, and after him Dionyſius and other hiſtorians reckon ſix kings more at Rome to the beginning of the conſuls. Now theſe twenty-two reigns, at about eighteen years to a reign one with another (for many of theſe kings were ſlain), took up three hundred and ninety-ſix years, which counted back from the conſulſhip of J. Brutus and Valerius Poplicola, the two firſt conſuls, place the Trojan war ſeventy-eight years after the death of Solomon.

This computation likewiſe agrees with what Appian in his hiſtory of the Punic wars relates, out of the archives of Carthage, which came into the hands of the Romans, viz. that Carthage ſtood ſeven hundred years. This is a round number, but Solinus adds the odd years when he ſays, Carthago poſt annos 737 quam fuerat extructa exciditur, Carthage was deſtroyed 737 years after it was built, which places

places Dido, the founder of Carthage, about ſeventy-ſix years after the death of Solomon. It likewiſe agrees with the Arundelian marbles, which ſay that Teucer came to Cyprus ſeven years after the deſtruction of Troy, and built Salamis in the days of Dido. Indeed, it is an argument greatly in favour of Newton's computations, that they agree very nearly with all the moſt ancient *monuments*, the moſt current *traditions* of antiquity, and the *oldeſt hiſtorians;* particularly Herodotus and Thucydides, who wrote before chronology was corrupted by the vanity of their nation, or the abſurd ſyſtems of later hiſtorians.

It is an argument greatly in favour of the credibility of the Old Teſtament hiſtory, that the courſes of generations and deſcents which are mentioned in it, parallel to thoſe in the fabulous period of the Grecian hiſtory, fall within the ſame intervals of time with thoſe which have been meaſured ſince hiſtory has been authentic. Conſequently, it is another argument in favour of Newton's correction of the ancient Greek chronology, that it brings the courſes of generations and ſucceſſions in the one to correſpond to thoſe in the other. Beſides, in ſeveral other reſpects it brings them to a greater harmony than can be made out upon

upon any other principles. Particularly it places the expedition of Seſoſtris (who as it is highly probable from ſeveral circumſtances, was the ſame perſon with Seſac) in the very time in which it is ſpoken of in the ſcriptures.

LECTURE XI.

The Time of paſt Events aſcertained by Means of celeſtial Appearances. The certainty of the Method of Computation by Eclipſes, A few ancient Eclipſes enumerated, The uſe of them exemplified in the Calculation of an ancient Eclipſe of the Moon,

Of all the incidental circumſtances by which ancient writers enable us, in an *indirect* manner to aſcertain the time of events, none give occaſion to more clear and undeniable concluſions than the mention they make of *celeſtial appearances*, on account of the regularity and conſtancy of the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and becauſe the laws of their motions are ſo exactly known to us. In this reſpect much are modern chronologers and hiſtorians obliged to the ſuperſtition with which the ancients

cients regarded unuſual appearances in the heavens. It was their imagined portentous nature that firſt drew upon them the attention of mankind, who dreaded their unknown influences and effects. It was on this account, and not becauſe they were conſidered as proper ſubjects of philoſophical inquiry, or of any uſe in chronology, that they have engaged the notice of hiſtorians. And fortunately for us, the catalogue of ancient eclipſes, not obſerved by philoſophers, but gazed at by the ſuperſtitious vulgar, is pretty full. Along with the hiſtory of many remarkable revolutions, and critical ſituations in the hiſtory of ſtates, the eclipſes which preceded, or accompanied them, are faithfully tranſmitted to us; and where the time, the place, and quantity of an eclipſe are mentioned, though not with aſtronomical exactneſs, it is very eaſy, by the rules of calculation, to fix the very year and day when the event happened. For conſidering the prodigious variety which the three circumſtances of *time*, *place*, and *quantity* occaſion in the appearance of eclipſes, there is no room to ſuſpect that any two, happening within a moderate diſtance of one another, can be in the leaſt danger of being confounded.

For the entertainment of thoſe who take pleaſure

pleaſure in calculations of this kind, I ſhall juſt quote, from Mr. Ferguſon's aſtronomy, ſome of the principal eclipſes that have been taken notice of by hiſtorians, that you may verify them at your leiſure.

Before Chriſt 585 May 28, an eclipſe of the ſun, foretold by Thales, by which a peace was brought about between the Medes and the Lydians.

B. C. 523 July 16, an eclipſe of the moon, which was followed by the death of Cambyſes.

B. C. 481 April 19, an eclipſe of the ſun, on the ſailing of Xerxes from Sardis.

B. C. 463, an eclipſe of the ſun followed by the Perſian war, and the falling off of the Egytians from the Perſians.

B. C. 431 Auguſt 31, a total eclipſe of the ſun, and a comet; followed by a plague at Athens.

B. C. 413 Auguſt 27, a total eclipſe of the moon, when Nicias was defeated at Syracuſe.

B. C. 394 Auguſt 14, an eclipſe of the ſun, when the Perſians were beaten by Conon in a ſea engagement.

B. C. 168 June 21, a total eclipſe of the moon, and the next day Perſeus king of Macedonia was conquered by Paulus Æmilius.

After

After Chriſt 59 April 30, an eclipſe of the ſun, reckoned by Nero among the prodigies on account of the death of Agrippina.

A. C. 306 July 27, an eclipſe of the ſun; the ſtars were ſeen and the emperor Conſtantius died.

A. C. 840 May 4, a great eclipſe of the ſun, and Lewis the Pious died within ſix months after it.

A. C. 1009 an eclipſe of the ſun, and Jeruſalem taken by the Saracens.

To exemplify the uſe of eclipſes for the purpoſes of chronology, I ſhall ſelect from the above mentioned, one of the moon, and ſhow how the date of the event which accompanied it is aſcertained by the help of it.

The eclipſe of the moon, which I ſhall ſelect, and the circumſtances attending it are thus related by Thucydides, L. 7. ſect. 50. Upon the arrival of Gylippus to the aſſiſtance of the Syracuſans, the Athenians, finding they were no match for the united force of their enemies, repented that they had not quitted their ſituation (in which it was no longer ſafe for them to continue) before, and immediately came to a reſolution to ſail out of the harbour as ſecretly as poſſible. But when every thing was ready for ſailing the moon

was

was eclipſed, for it was then full moon. Upon this, moſt of the Athenians, alarmed at the omen, deſired their commanders to proceed no farther; and Nicias, being himſelf a ſuperſtitious obſerver of ſuch prodigies, declared that he would not come to any final reſolution about quitting the place till they had ſtaid three days longer, according to the advice of the ſoothſayers. This occaſioned the Athenians to ſtay in the place, which they had never after an opportunity of leaving, and in which they almoſt to a man periſhed.

This event is placed by hiſtorians in the year B. C. 413, and upon looking into the aſtronomical tables, it appears that ſhe was at the full about midnight at London, or one o'clock in the morning at Syracuſe on the 27th of Auguſt in that year; when the ſun was only four degrees forty-eight minutes from the node, far within twelve degrees, the limit of Lunar eclipſes; and when, conſequently, there muſt have been a total eclipſe of the moon, which would be viſible to the Athenians from the beginning to the end of it, and may therefore reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have produced the effect aſcribed to it by the hiſtorian.

A hiſtory

A hiſtory which contains an account of a ſufficient number of theſe phænomena furniſhes us with the ſureſt teſt of its authenticity. Almoſt all the credit which is given to the Chineſe hiſtory is derived from this conſideration. The eclipſes there mentioned to have happened, aſtronomers ſay, did really happen at the times aſſigned to them.*

The theory of comets is not ſufficiently aſcertained to enable us to make much uſe of their revolutions for hiſtorical purpoſes; nor indeed are there any events they accompanied, which we cannot determine much more nearly by other mediums of proof, than, it is probable, we could have done by the help of comets, were their theory ever ſo well aſcertained. Their returns are, probably, not ſufficiently regular, nor, if they were, are the accounts of them in hiſtorians ſufficiently exact for that purpoſe.

* I made this lecture a ſhort one, becauſe I uſed to produce in the courſe of it calculations of ſeveral paſt eclipſes, to illuſtrate the principles of it.

LECTURE XII.

Of the Uſe which Newton has made of Obſervations on the Preceſſion of the Equinoxes in rectifying ancient Chronology. The Time of the Argonautic Expedition determined by that Means. The Date of ſeveral ſubſequent Events determined by the ſame Means, in perfect Conſiſtence with one another. A Conjecture concerning the Age of an old Sphere in the Muſeum of the Farneſian Palace. The Age of Heſiod determined pretty nearly from his Account of the heliacal riſing and ſetting of ſome Stars. The Uſe of the Books of the Old Teſtament for rectifying the Heathen Chronology. The Uſe it was of to Newton in particular.

THE calculations of eclipſes are of great uſe in aſcertaining particular events, if they have been previouſly determined within a moderate diſtance; but the grand aſtronomical medium which ſir Iſaac Newton has ſo ſucceſsfully employed in rectifying the whole ſyſtem of ancient chronology, is the *preceſſion of the equinoxes*. The quantity of this preceſſion is known, by a ſeries of the moſt accurate obſervations, to be one degree backwards in ſeventy-two years; that is, the ſun croſſes

croſſes the ecliptic ſo much more to the weſt every year, that at the end of ſeventy-two years his progreſs weſtward amounts to one degree, whereby the places of the equinoxes are continually receding from the conſtellations, in the middle of which they were originally placed. Whenever, therefore, the ſituation of the equinoctial or ſolſtitial points, or any appearance depending upon them, is mentioned, it is eaſy to aſcertain the time of any event with which ſuch an appearance was connected. It is done by obſerving how many degrees the equinoctial points have receded from the ſituation they then had to that which they have at preſent, and allowing ſeventy-two years to every degree.

That the conſtellations were firſt invented at the time of the Argonautic expedition, is pretty evident from a variety of conſiderations. We have not only the teſtimony of ſeveral ancient writers for the fact, but the conſtellations themſelves ſeem very plainly to declare as much. For the old conſtellations mentioned by Aratus, do all of them relate either to the Argonauts themſelves, and their contemporaries, or to perſons one or two generations older; and nothing later than that expedition was delineated there originally. It

is, therefore, very probable (as ſeveral ancient writers aſſert) that the firſt ſphere was invented by Chiron and Muſæus for the uſe of the Argonauts.

We have, moreover, the teſtimony of ſeveral ancient writers that the equinoctial and ſolſtitial points in this old ſphere were placed upon the middle of the conſtellations that give names to them; namely, that the equinoctial colure was made to paſs through the middle of the conſtellation Aries, and the ſolſtitial colure through the middle of Cancer. Beſides, the reaſon of the thing might reaſonably lead us to imagine, that the ancients would place the equinoxes and ſolſtices as nearly in the midſt of their reſpective conſtellations as their coarſe obſervations would enable them to determine. For ſince the firſt month of their lunar-ſolar year, by reaſon of their intercalary month, began ſometimes a week or a fortnight before the equinox or ſolſtice, and ſometimes as much after it, the firſt aſtronomers, who formed the aſteriſms, would naturally endeavour to place thoſe grand diviſions of the year, the equinoxes and ſolſtices, as nearly as they could in the middle of the conſtellations Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn.

Admitting

Admitting the colures to have paſſed through the middle of thoſe conſtellations at the time of the Argonautic expedition, ſir Iſaac Newton finds that the equinoctial and ſolſtitial points had gone back thirty-ſix degrees forty-four minutes at the end of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-nine; which, allowing ſeventy-two years to each degree, would have been accompliſhed in the ſpace of two thouſand ſix hundred and forty-five years. This number, counted back from the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty nine, will place the Argonautic expedition about twenty-five years after the death of Solomon.

This computation proceeds upon the ſuppoſition that the middle of the conſtellation is exactly the middle point between the two ſtars called *prima Arietis*, and *ultima Caudæ*, but if we fix the cardinal points by the ſtars through which the colures paſſed in the primitive ſphere, as deſcribed by Eudoxus, which ſeems to be better, the equinoctial points will have receded thirty-ſix degrees twenty-nine minutes, which anſwers to two thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſeven years, and places the expedition forty-three years after the death of Solomon, very near the ſame year to which it was referred by the other preceding, and

very different, methods of computation; the very near and remarkable coincidence of which is the greateſt confirmation of the certainty of both thoſe methods of inveſtigation.

What gives great weight to this argument from the preceſſion of the equinoxes is, that if we reckon from whatever time the poſition of the equinoctial points has been mentioned by aſtronomers whoſe age is known, this motion, counted backwards, fixes that great event in the ſame year. It likewiſe demonſtrates, that the obſervations of the ancients, though coarſe enough, as ſir Iſaac acknowledges, are ſufficiently exact for the purpoſe. As this circumſtance is pretty remarkable, I ſhall mention the particulars of it.

According to Pliny, and the calculations of Petavius, Thales, who wrote a book of the tropics and equinoxes, fixed the equinoxes and ſolſtices in the eleventh degree of their reſpective ſigns; ſo that they had receded four degrees twenty-ſix minutes and fifty-two ſeconds, from their original place at the time of the Argonautic expedition. This anſwers to three hundred and twenty years, and calculated backwards from the forty-firſt Olympiad (when Thales was a young man, fit to apply to aſtronomical ſtudies) will place that event

event forty-four years after the death of Solomon.

According to Columella, Meton, and Euctemon, who publiſhed the lunar Cycle of nineteen years, and for this purpoſe obſerved the ſummer ſolſtice in the year of Nabonaſſar three hundred and ſixteen, the year before the Peloponneſian war began, placed the ſummer ſolſtice in the eighth degree of Cancer, which is at leaſt ſeven degrees more backwards than at firſt. This ſpace anſwers to five hundred and four years, which, counted backwards from the year of obſervation, makes the expedition fall upon the forty-fourth year after the death of Solomon.

Laſtly, Hipparchus, who firſt diſcovered that the equinoxes had a regular motion backwards, made his obſervations about the year of Nabonaſſar ſix hundred and two, and fixed the vernal equinox in the fourth degree of Aries. Conſequently, the equinoctial points had gone back eleven degrees ſince the Argonautic expedition, which is equivalent to ſeven hundred and ninety-two years, and which counted backwards places the expedition in the forty-third year after the death of Solomon.

Theſe four coincidences are remarkable,

and could not have placed the ſame event ſo near the ſame year, unleſs all the obſervations had been ſufficiently exact. And when we conſider the coincidences of a great many more independent evidences, derived from the courſe of generation, and the order of ſucceſſion, with thoſe which are borrowed from aſtronomical principles, nothing ſeems to be better eſtabliſhed, than that the Argonautic expedition, an event on which all the Greek chronology depends, really happened about forty-three years after the death of Solomon, and not in the days of Gideon, above three hundred years before, as has been the common opinion.

It may be obſerved in this place, that the error of Hipparchus with reſpect to the quantity of the preceſſion, is a proof that the chronology of Greece before his time was erroneous, and wanted correction. He makes it to be one degree in about one hundred years, which he was neceſſarily led to conclude from the lengthening of the intervals of obſervation by the received chronology; and therefore the diſcovery that the preceſſion of the equinoxes is only at the rate of ſeventy-two years to a degree, furniſhes us with a good reaſon why we ought to ſhorten the

time

time before Hipparchus in about the ſame proportion.

By arguments drawn from the rate of the preceſſion of the equinoxes we can nearly determine the age of an *old globe* found in the ruins of ancient Rome, and which is now preſerved in the muſeum of the Farneſian palace, as one of the moſt curious monuments of antiquity. On this globe the equinoctial colure paſſes through the right horn and right foot of Aries, and is about five degrees diſtant from the equinoctial point laid down on the globe. From theſe circumſtances it will appear, that this globe was made about forty years before Chriſt; and it is moreover probable, from the conſtruction of this globe, that the colure paſſed through the bright ſtar of Aries about four hundred years before Chriſt.

The riſing and ſetting of the ſtars with reſpect to the riſing and ſetting of the ſun depends alſo upon the preceſſion of the equinoxes. Any writer, therefore, who mentions the riſing or ſetting of any ſtar, at any particular time of the year, with reſpect to the ſun, furniſhes us with data ſufficient to determine the time in which he wrote. Thus Heſiod tells us that ſixty days after the winter ſolſtice

the ſtar arcturus roſe juſt at ſun ſet; from which circumſtance it is eaſily calculated that Heſiod flouriſhed about one hundred years after the death of Solomon, or in the generation, or age, next to the Trojan war, as Heſiod himſelf declares; which is another independent argument for the date before aſſigned to that war, and all the Greek chronology connected with it.

Many other circumſtances which Heſiod occaſionally mentions, relating to the ſtate of the heavens in his time, concur in leading us to the ſame concluſion. Virgil too, if his age had not been aſcertained in another manner, has given us data of the ſame kind ſufficient to determine it pretty nearly.

I cannot conclude theſe obſervations on the chronology of the earlieſt ages of the heathen world better than by reminding you, that, the truth of the ſcripture hiſtory being unqueſtionable, and relating to times prior to the age in which hiſtory began to be written by any other people than the Jews, it is the beſt guide to the knowledge of prophane antiquity. It was in purſuing this plan that Newton was led to correct the ancient technical chronology of the Greeks by itſelf. The principles on which he reduces their

their accounts are founded on nature, and independent on any arguments drawn from ſcripture. But it is more than probable that, ſeeing reaſon to think, from ſimilar circumſtances, that Seſoſtris muſt have been the ſame perſon with Seſac, of whom we have an account in the hiſtory of Rehoboam, he firſt of all fixed the date of that expedition according to the ſcriptures, and that afterwards, from conſidering the ſubject in various points of light, he was led to the other arguments which have been mentioned; by which he was able to confirm the ſcriptural date of that event, and alſo the dates of the principal facts in the hiſtory of Greece connected with it, in a manner independent of the authorities on which he firſt founded his opinion. Then having, by the joint helps of ſcripture and reaſon, rectified the chronology of the Greeks, he made uſe of this rectified chronology to adjuſt the contemporary affairs of the Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Perſians.

If this analyſis of the method of reaſoning, ſo ſucceſsfully uſed by ſir Iſaac Newton in rectifying the chronology of ancient times, induce any of you who are intended for a learned profeſſion to ſtudy ſo excellent and important

important a work, and be any help to you in underſtanding it, and I ſhall thus contribute to the more general reception of the great outlines of this ſyſtem, I ſhall think that I have rendered an important ſervice to the learned world.

PART III.

WHAT IS NECESSARY, OR USEFUL, TO BE KNOWN PREVIOUS TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

LECTURE XIII.

Uſe of the Sciences derived from Hiſtory to the Study of Hiſtory. The Knowledge of human Nature. Philoſophical Knowledge in general. Geography. Chronology. The Method of reckoning by Weeks. Diviſion of the Day.

BEFORE we enter upon the third diviſion of our ſubject, which comprizes what is neceſſary, or peculiarly uſeful, to be known previous to the ſtudy of hiſtory, it is proper to obſerve,

obſerve, that it muſt be taken in very different degrees of extent, according to the views with which hiſtory is read; and that this, as was obſerved before, depends very much upon the age and ſituation of the perſon who applies to it.

If particular portions of hiſtory be recommended to young perſons, with a view to amuſe their imaginations, to engage their paſſions, to diſcover their diſpoſitions and genius, or form them to juſt and manly ſentiments, in order to fit them for acting in the common ſpheres of life with more propriety and dignity, no previous qualifications at all are neceſſary. Let youth have hiſtory put into their hands as ſoon as they are capable of reading, provided that paſſages be ſelected with a view to their age and capacity. The uſes above-mentioned (which after all, are the nobleſt that can be made of hiſtory) may be derived from it though many particular paſſages in hiſtorians be unintelligible, and the reader be not capable of applying hiſtory to thoſe purpoſes of ſcience, to which it has been ſhewn to be ſubſervient.

But if a perſon have farther and ſcientific views in the ſtudy of hiſtory, he will find ſeveral branches of knowledge, and ſome articles of previous information, extremely uſeful, and in

in a manner neceſſary. It is true that thoſe ſciences, and thoſe articles of information, were originally derived from hiſtory; and therefore that thoſe who firſt applied to the ſtudy of it had not theſe helps. But the ſame may be ſaid of grammars, which were made after the perſons who wrote them had formed an acquaintance with the languages which they were deſigned to explain; but which are univerſally eſteemed to be, in a manner, neceſſary to be underſtood by any perſon who would obtain, at leaſt an eaſy and ſpeedy acquaintance with theſe languages afterwards. I ſhall therefore, in this part of my ſubject, point out thoſe branches of ſcience, and give the principal of thoſe articles of information which are peculiarly uſeful to a perſon who applies to the ſtudy of hiſtory. And, indeed, if a perſon have no thought of eſtabliſhing or confirming any principles of ſcience by his ſtudy of hiſtory, it muſt greatly contribute to his pleaſure in reading, to underſtand his author perfectly, and have a clear idea of every thing which is preſented to him in the theatre he is viewing.

Conſidering the extenſive nature of hiſtory, there is no branch of ſcience which it may not be of advantage for a perſon to furniſh himſelf with, preparatory to the ſtudy of it. But it muſt

muſt be obſerved that an accurate and extenſive knowledge of thoſe ſciences cannot be attained without ſome knowledge of hiſtory. Indeed their aid is mutual, juſt as the knowledge of grammar, as was obſerved before, qualifies a perſon for the reading of authors, and the reading of authors enlarges and perfects his acquaintance with grammar. There is no occaſion therefore for a perſon who propoſes to ſtudy hiſtory ſcientifically to defer his application to it till he be completely maſter of the ſciences I ſhall recommend, as peculiarly uſeful to his purpoſe. If he come to the reading of hiſtory furniſhed with the firſt principles of them, he will find his knowledge of them grow more perfect as he proceeds; particularly if he attend to the facts he becomes acquainted with, with that view.

For inſtance, the knowledge of *human nature* is of univerſal and conſtant uſe in conſidering the characters and actions of *men;* yet a very moderate knowledge of this important ſubject is the reſult of all our reading, of all our experience, and of all the obſervations we can make upon mankind. A general idea, however, of the principles of human nature will be an excellent guide to us in judging of the conſiſtency of human characters, and of what is within, and

and what without, the reach of human powers; and without ſome attention to this ſubject we might embrace all the fables of *Grecian mythology*, and all the extravagancies of books of *chivalry*, as undoubted truth; or admit it to be poſſible, that the real heroes of antiquity might have been the ſame perſons with thoſe who bore their names in the moſt abſurd of the modern plays and romances which are founded on their hiſtory.

Philoſophical knowledge in general is of the moſt extenſive uſe to all perſons who would examine with accuracy the atchievments of ancient nations in peace or war, or who would thoroughly weigh the accounts of any thing in which the powers of nature are employed. Without ſome acquaintance with philoſophy it will be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh between the moſt abſurd chimeras of eaſtern romance, and the moſt natural hiſtorical relations. Who but a philoſopher, or a perſon acquainted with the powers of nature and art, could form any judgment of what the ancients relate concerning the prodigious machines of *Archimedes* in the defence of *Syracuſe;* or know what to think of the accounts of omens, oracles, and prodigies which occur in ſuch grave hiſtorians as Livy, Tacitus, Joſephus, &c.?

Without

Without ſome knowledge of philoſophy a perſon might even admit what many authors have related one after another, that the famous Otho, archbiſhop of Mayence, was beſieged and devoured by an army of rats in the year ſix hundred and ninety-eight, that Gaſcony was deluged with ſhowers of blood in one thouſand and ſeventeen, or that two armies of ſerpents fought a battle near Tourhay in one thouſand and fifty-nine. It particularly requires a conſiderable acquaintance with ſeveral branches of philoſophy, to diſtinguiſh between truth and falſehood, probability and improbability, in the hiſtory of the cuſtoms and manners of ancient and remote nations.

Aſtronomy, though ſeemingly very remote from this ſubject of civil hiſtory, has been ſhown, in a preceding lecture, to inſtruct us in the buſineſs of chronological calculations; and *mathematical ſcience* in general is uſefully applied in meaſuring the greatneſs, and conſequently in determining the probability, of many human works.

But thoſe ſciences which are of the moſt conſtant and general uſe to an hiſtorian, ſo as to have deſerved to be called the *two eyes of hiſtory*, are *geography* and *chronology*. Without

out geography or a knowledge of the ſituation, and relative magnitude, of the ſeveral countries of the earth, no reader of hiſtory can have any clear and diſtinct idea of what he reads, as being tranſacted in them. Beſides, he would be liable to the groſſeſt impoſitions, and might even be led to think, for inſtance, from the common editions of Shakeſpeare, that ſhips might come to an harbour in Bohemia. Moreover, by a knowledge of geography we are able to verify many paſt tranſactions, which, if they ever happened, muſt have left indelible traces upon the face of the earth. Many curious examples of this nature may be ſeen in Addiſon's, Maundrell's, and Shaw's travels. The fiſſure in the rock of Mount Calvary, which was made when our Saviour was crucified, and a large fragment of the rock of Rephidim near Mount Sinai, are remarkable facts of this nature.

This ſcience of geography, being perfectly diſtinct from hiſtory, civil or eccleſiaſtical, though abſolutely neceſſary to the knowledge of it, I ſhall not enter upon; but *chronology*, the other eye of hiſtory, as it conſiſts chiefly of a knowledge of the artificial diviſions of time, and partakes more of the nature of hiſtory, I ſhall explain as briefly as poſſible; eſpecially

eſpecially as much of the principles of it as I apprehend to be of the moſt uſe in the ſtudy of hiſtory.

The uſe of chronology (though it may have been ſometimes handled too minutely for the purpoſe of hiſtory) cannot be denied. We can form but very confuſed notions of the intervals of time, of the riſe and fall of empires, and of the ſucceſſive eſtabliſhment of ſtates, without ſome ſuch a general comprehenſion, as we may call it, of the whole current of time, as may enable us to trace out diſtinctly the dependence of events, and diſtribute them into ſuch periods and diviſions, as ſhall lay the whole chain of paſt tranſactions in a juſt and orderly manner before us; and this is what chronology undertakes to aſſiſt us in.

The diviſions of time which are conſidered in chronology relate either to the different methods of computing days, months, and years, or the remarkable æras or epochas from which any year receives its name, and by means of which the date of any event is fixed.

Time is commodiouſly divided by any equal motions, or the regular return of any appearances, in the heavens or on the earth, that ſtrike the ſenſes of all perſons; and there are

three of theſe, ſo particularly conſpicuous, that they have been made uſe of for this purpoſe by all mankind. They are the changes of day and night, the courſe of the moon, and the return of the ſeaſons of the year.

The firſt of theſe is produced by the revolution of the earth about its axis, and is called a *day*; the ſecond is the period that elapſes between one new moon and another, called a *month*; and the third is the time in which the [illegible] completes its revolution about the ſun, [illegible] *year*.

Were theſe three periods commenſurate to one another, that is, did a month conſiſt of any equal number of days, and the year of a certain number of lunar months, a great part of the buſineſs of chronology would have been exceedingly eaſy. All the embarraſſment of the ancient aſtronomers, in ſettling their periods, and all the difficulty that attends the acquiring the knowledge of them, have been owing to the methods that mankind have been compelled to adopt in order to accommodate the three methods of computing time, viz. by days, months, and years, to one another, ſo as to make uſe of them all at the ſame time.

Beſide theſe three natural diviſions of time, there

there is another that may be called artificial, viz. into *weeks*, or periods of ſeven days, which took its riſe from the Divine Being having completed the creation of the earth in ſeven days. But this diviſion of time, though uſed by Jews, Chriſtians, and Mahometans, and by almoſt all the people of Aſia and Africa, was not obſerved by the Greeks or Romans.

To give as diſtinct a view of this ſubject as I am able, I ſhall firſt give ſome account of each of theſe diviſions of time, noting all the principal ſub-diviſions or diſtributions that have been made of them, and then deſcribe the methods of accommodating them to one another.

Days have been very differently terminated and divided by different people in different ages, which it is of ſome importance to a reader of hiſtory to be acquainted with. The ancient Babylonians, Perſians, Syrians, and moſt other eaſtern nations, with the preſent inhabitants of the Balearic iſlands, the Greeks, &c., began their day with the ſun's riſing. The ancient Athenians and Jews, with the Auſtrians, Bohemians, Marcomanni, Sileſians, modern Italians and Chineſe, reckon from the ſun's ſetting; the ancient Umbri and Arabians, with the modern aſtronomers, from noon;

and the Egyptians and Romans, with the modern Engliſh, French, Dutch, Germans, Spaniards, and Portugueſe, from midnight.

The Jews, Romans, and moſt other ancient nations, divided the day into twelve hours, and the night into four watches. But the cuſtom which prevails in this weſtern part of the world at preſent is, to divide the day into twenty-four equal portions, only with ſome the twenty-four are divided into twice twelve hours; whereas others, particularly the Italians, Bohemians, and Poles, count twenty-four hours without interruption.

LECTURE XIV.

Months, Lunar and Solar. Difference in Beginning the Year. Intercalation. Cycles. Old and new Style. The Solar Cycle. Cycle of Indiction. Julian Period. Æras or Epochas. The Æra of Nabonaſſar. Of the Seleucidæ. Of the Birth of Chriſt. Of the Hegira. Of the Æra uſed formerly in Spain. Of the Battle of Actium. Of the Æra of Diocleſian and that of Yeſdejerd. Cautions in comparing them with one another.

As a complete lunation conſiſts of about twenty-nine days and an half, and the changes of

of the moon are very viſible, there could be no great difficulty in accommodating them to each other, or in fixing what number of days ſhould be allowed to a month. In general the ancients made them to conſiſt of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately; and they could never make a miſtake of a day without being able to rectify it (provided the view of the heavens was not obſtructed) by ocular obſervation.

When months came to be reckoned not by lunations, but were conſidered as each the twelfth part of a year, conſiſting of three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſome hours, it became neceſſary to allow ſometimes thirty and ſometimes thirty-one days to a month, as in the Roman calendar.

Whenever months are mentioned as divided by days in the books of ſcripture, they are ſuppoſed to conſiſt of thirty days each; and twelve months, or three hundred and ſixty days, make the year. This is particularly to be obſerved in interpreting the prophetical books of Daniel and St. John.

Different people have made their years to begin at different times, and have uſed a va-

riety of methods to give names to them, and diſtinguiſh them from one another.

The Jews began the year for civil purpoſes in the month of *Tizri*, which anſwers to our September; but for eccleſiaſtical purpoſes with *Niſan*, which anſwers to our April, at which time they kept the paſſover.

The Athenians began the year with the month *Hecatombæon*, which began with the firſt new moon after the ſummer ſolſtice.

The Romans had at firſt only *ten* months in their year, which ended with December, but Numa added January and February.

At preſent there are in Rome two ways of reckoning the year. One begins at Chriſtmas on account of the nativity of our Saviour, and the notaries of Rome uſe this date, prefixing to their deeds *a nativitate;* and the other at March, on account of the incarnation of Chriſt, and therefore the pope's bulls are dated *anno incarnationis*.

The ancient French hiſtorians began the year at the death of St. Martin, who died in the year four hundred and one, or four hundred and two; and they did not begin in France to reckon the year from January till one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four, by virtue of an ordinance of Charles IX. Before that time they

they began the day next after Eaſter, about the twenty-fifth of March.

In England alſo, till of late, we had two beginnings of the year, one in January, and the other on March 25; but by act of parliament in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two, the firſt day in January was appointed to be the beginning of the year for all purpoſes.

Moſt of the eaſtern nations diſtinguiſh the year by the reigns of their princes. The Greeks alſo had no better method, giving names to them from the magiſtrates who preſided in in them, as in Athens from the archons. The Romans alſo named the year by the conſuls. And it was a long time before any people thought of giving names to the years from any particular æra, or remarkable event. But at length the Greeks reckoned from the inſtitution of the Olympic games, and the Romans from the building of Rome. They did not, however, begin to make theſe computations till the number of years that had elapſed ſince thoſe events could not be computed with exactneſs, and therefore, they have greatly antedated them.

About A. D. 360, the Chriſtians began to reckon the years from the birth of Chriſt, but not time enough to enable the chronolo-

gers of that age to fix the true time of that event.

The Greeks diſtributed their years into ſyſtems of *four*, calling them *Olympiads*, from the return of the Olympic games every four years. And the Romans ſometimes reckoned by *Luſtra*, or periods of five years. The word comes from *luo*, which Varro ſays ſignifies *to pay*, becauſe every fifth year they paid a tribute impoſed by the cenſor, at the ſolemn purification inſtituted by Servius Tullius.

The greateſt difficulty in chronology has been to accommodate the two methods of computing time by the courſe of the moon and that of the ſun to each other; the neareſt diviſion of the year by months being twelve, and yet twelve lunar months falling eleven days ſhort of a complete year. This gave birth to many *cycles* in uſe among the ancients, the principal of which I ſhall explain.

It appears from the relation which Herodotus has given of the interview between Solon and Croeſus, that, in the time of Solon, and probably that of Herodotus alſo, it was the cuſtom with the Greeks to add, or as it is termed, to *intercalate*, a month every other year; but as this was evidently too much, they probably rectified it, by omitting the intercalation

tercalation whenever they obſerved, by comparing the ſeaſons of the year with their annual feſtivals, that they ought to do it. If, for inſtance, the firſt fruits of any kind, were to be carried in proceſſion on any particular day of a month, they would ſee the neceſſity of intercalating a month, if, according to their uſual reckoning, thoſe fruits were not then ripe, or they would omit the intercalation if they were ready. And had no other view interpoſed, their reckoning could never have erred far from the truth. But it being ſometimes the intereſt of the chief magiſtrates to lengthen or ſhorten a year, for the purpoſes of ambition, every other conſideration was often ſacrificed to it, and the greateſt confuſion was introduced into their computations.

Finding themſelves, therefore, under a neceſſity of having ſome certain rule of computation, they firſt pitched upon *four years*, in which they intercalated only one month. But this producing an error of fourteen days in the whole cycle, they invented the period of *eight years*, in which they intercalated three months, in which was an exceſs of only one day and fourteen hours, and therefore this cycle continued in uſe much longer than either of the preceding.

But

But the moſt perfect of theſe cycles was that which was called the *Metonic*, from Meton, an Athenian aſtronomer, who invented it. It conſiſted of nineteen years, in which ſeven months were intercalated. This brought the two methods to ſo near an agreement, that after the expiration of the period, not only do the new and full moons return on the ſame day of the year, but very nearly on the ſame hour of the day.

This cycle was adopted by the chriſtians at the council of Nice, for the purpoſe of ſettling the time for keeping Eaſter, and other moveable feaſts. This period, however, falling ſhort of nineteen years almoſt an hour and a half, it has come to paſs, that the new and full moons in the heavens have anticipated the new and full moons in the calendar of the book of common prayer four days and an half. Theſe laſt are called *Calendar new moons*, to diſtinguiſh them from the true new moons in the heavens.

It has not been without difficulty and variety, that the computation by *years* has been accommodated to that by *days;* ſince a year does not conſiſt of any even number of days, but of three hundred and ſixty-five days five minutes and forty-nine ſeconds.

It

It will appear from what has been obſerved, that ſo long as mankind computed chiefly by months, it was not of much conſequence to determine with exactneſs the number of days in the year; and this method ſufficiently anſwered every civil and religious purpoſe. But the Egyptians, and other nations addicted to aſtronomy, were not ſatisfied with the method of computing by lunar months, the days of which varied ſo very much from one another in different years. They therefore made the *year* the ſtandard, and dividing that into *days*, made uſe of *months* only as a commodious intermediate diviſion, and, without regard to the courſe of the moon, diſtributed the days of the year into *twelve parts*, as nearly equal as they conveniently could. By this means the ſame day of the month would fall on the ſame part of the ſun's annual revolution, and therefore would more exactly correſpond to the ſeaſons of the year. The Mexicans divided their year into eighteen parts.

The Egyptians, as alſo the Chaldeans and Aſſyrians, reckoned at firſt three hundred and ſixty days to the year, but afterwards three hundred and ſixty-five. The conſequence of this was that the beginning of their year would go back through all the ſeaſons, though ſlowly;

ſlowly; namely, at the rate of about ſix hours every year. Of this form too were the years which took their date from the reign of Nabonaſſar of Babylon, Yeſdigerd of Perſia, and the Seleucidæ of Syria.

It muſt be obſerved, however, that the people who reckoned their year from theſe epochas, namely, the Egyptians, Perſians, and Jews; as alſo the Arabians, had a different and more fixed form of the year for aſtronomical purpoſes; but as no uſe was made of it in civil hiſtory, the account of it is omitted in this place.

The inconvenience attending the form of the year above mentioned was in a great meaſure remedied by the Romans, in the time of Julius Cæſar, who added one day every fourth year, which (from the place of its inſertion, viz. after the ſixth of the calends of March) was called *biſſextile*, or leap year. This form of the year is ſtill called the *Julian* year. But the true length of the year being not quite ſix hours more than the three hundred and ſixty-five days, this allowance was too much; and pope Gregory XIII. introduced another amendment in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-two, by ordering that once in one hundred and thirty-three years a day ſhould be

be taken out of the calendar, in the following manner, viz. from the year one thouſand ſix hundred every hundredth year (which according to the Julian form is always biſſextile, or leap year) was to be common, but every four hundredth year was to continue biſſextile, as in the Julian account. As this pope made allowance at once for all the alteration that his method would have made in the courſe of the year from the time of the council of Nice, the *new ſtyle* (for ſo his regulation of the year is called) differed from the old ſtyle ten days at the very commencement of it, and is now eleven days different from it. The new ſtyle was adopted in England in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two.

The Mahometans make their year to conſiſt of lunar months only, without endeavouring to adapt it to the courſe of the ſun; ſo that with them the beginning of the year goes through all the ſeaſons at the rate of about eleven days every year.

But ſince the exact time of twelve moons, beſides the three hundred and fifty-four whole days, is about eight hours, and forty-eight minutes, which make eleven days in thirty-ſix years, they are forced to add eleven days in thirty years, which they do by means of a cycle,

cycle, invented by the Arabians, in which there are nineteen years with three hundred and fifty-four days only, and eleven intercalary of three hundred and fifty-five days, and they are thoſe in which the number of hours and minutes more than the whole days in the year is found to be more than half a day, ſuch as two, five, ſeven, ten, thirteen, ſixteen, eighteen, twenty-one, twenty-four, twenty-ſix, and twenty-nine, by which means they fill up all the inequalities that can happen.

It has been of ſome conſequence to chriſtians to adjuſt the days of the week to the days of the month, and of the year, in order to get a rule for finding *Sunday*. Had there been no biſſextile, it is evident that, ſince the year conſiſts of fifty-two weeks, and one day, all the varieties would have been comprized in ſeven years. But the biſſextile returning every fourth year, the ſeries of *dominical letters* ſucceeding each other is interrupted, and does not return in order, but after four times ſeven years, or twenty-eight years, which is therefore commonly called the *ſolar cycle*, ſerving as a rule to find Sunday, and conſequently all the days of the week of every month and year.

Beſides the above mentioned periods of years,

years, called *cycles*, there are ſome other combinations, or ſyſtems of years, that are of uſe in chronology, as that called the *indiction*, which is a period of fifteen years, at the end of which a certain tribute was paid by the provinces of the Roman empire, and by which the emperors ordered public acts to be dated.

But the moſt remarkable of all the periods in chronology is that called the *Julian period*, invented by Joſeph Scaliger, and called *Julian*, from the years, of which it conſiſts, being Julian years. His object was to reduce to a certainty the different methods of computing time, and fixing the dates of events, by different chronologers. For this purpoſe nothing was neceſſary but a ſeries of years ſome term of which was fixed (that, for inſtance, by which the preſent year ſhould be denominated) comprehending the whole extent of time. Since, if each chronologer would apply that common meaſure to his particular ſcheme, they would all perfectly underſtand one another.

To accompliſh this, he combined the three periods of the *ſun*, the *moon*, and the *indiction*, together, that is, multiplying the numbers twenty-eight, nineteen, and fifteen into one another, which produces ſeven thouſand nine hundred

hundred and eighty, after which period, and not before, all the three cycles will return in the ſame order every year, being diſtinguiſhed by the ſame number of each.

In order to fix the beginning of this period, he took the cycles as he then found them ſettled in the Latin church; and tracing them backwards through their ſeveral combinations, he found that the year in which they would all begin together was the year before the creation ſeven hundred and fourteen, according to Uſher, and that the firſt year of the chriſtian æra would be four thouſand ſeven hundred and fourteen of this period.

There is a farther convenience in this period, viz. that if any year be divided by the number compoſing the cycles, viz. twenty-eight, nineteen, or fifteen, the quotient will ſhow the number of the cycles that have elapſed ſince the commencement of it, and the remainder will give the year of the cycle, correſponding to the year given.

I cannot help obſerving that this boaſted period ſeems to have been unneceſſary for the chief purpoſe for which it was invented, viz. to ſerve as a common language for chronologers, and that now little uſe is made of it, notwithſtanding all writers ſtill ſpeak of it in the

the ſame magnificent terms. The vulgar chriſtian æra anſwers the ſame purpoſe as effectually.

All that can be neceſſary for chronologers to ſpeak the ſame language, and be perfectly underſtood by one another, and by all mankind, is to give every year the ſame name or deſignation, which is moſt conveniently done by expreſſing them in a ſeries of numbers in arithmetical progreſſion, any one term of which they ſhall agree to affix to the ſame year, a year in which any well known event happened. Let it, for example, be that in which the peace of Paris was made, and let it be called one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three. If, beſides this, it be only agreed in what part of the revolution of the ſun, or in what month and day, the year begins, there can be no difficulty in giving a name to every other year preceding or following it, and thereby aſcertaining the interval between all tranſactions. For all the events that took place the year before that peace will be referred to the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-two, and all in the year after it to one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-four. This period having had a commencement ſince the date of hiſtory is no inconvenience; for

whenever we have gone back to number *one* of this period, the year preceding it may be called *one before its commencement*, the year preceding that *two* before it, &c. and thus proceeding *ad infinitum* both ways.

That Chriſt might not have been born in the firſt of that ſyſtem of years to which it ſerves to give a name, is no inconvenience whatever; ſince, whatever differences of opinion there may be among chronologers about the time when Chriſt was born, they all agree in calling the preſent year, and conſequently every other year, by the ſame name, and therefore they have the ſame idea of the interval between the preſent year and any other year in the ſyſtem. The real time of Chriſt's birth can no more affect the proper uſe of this ſyſtem than that of any other indifferent event; ſince, uſing the ſame *ſyſtem of dates*, they may ſay Chriſt was born in the third, fourth, fifth, ſixth, or, what I think to be the caſe, in the ſeventh year before the chriſtian æra.

Whenever, therefore, chronologers ceaſed to date events from the *creation*, which was very abſurd (ſince they did not agree in fixing the interval between the preſent year and the date of that event, and therefore gave all the years

years different names) they had no occaſion to have recourſe to any ſuch period as the Julian; ſince another, capable of anſwering the ſame purpoſes, was already in common uſe, ſupplying them with a language which they all equally underſtood.

Æras or Epochas, are memorable events from which time is reckoned, and from which any ſubſequent year receives its denomination. The Greeks for a long time (as I obſerved before) had no fixed æra, afterwards they reckoned by Olympiads, which were games celebrated in honour of Jupiter once in four years, and began in Midſummer, ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix years before Chriſt. The Athenians gave names to their years from their archons. The Romans called their years from the names of the conſuls who preſided in them, and afterwards they dated events from the building of their city, ſuppoſing it to have been built ſeven hundred and fifty-three years before Chriſt.

Some hiſtories are regulated by the year of Nabonaſſar, who began his reign in the year ſeven hundred and forty-ſeven before Chriſt, of the Julian period three thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-ſeven. It is ſuppoſed to have commenced on the twenty-ſixth of February in the afternoon.

The Jews before Chriſt reckoned by the year of the Seleucidæ, ſometimes called the year of the contracts, which began in the year three hundred and twelve before Chriſt, of the Julian period four thouſand four hundred and two, ſome time in the ſpring.

The Chriſtians, about three hundred and ſixty years after the birth of Chriſt, began to make uſe of that æra, which is now uſed in all chriſtian countries.

The Mahometans reckon their years from the flight of Mahommed from Mecca. This æra is called the Hegyra. It began in the year ſix hundred and twenty-two after Chriſt, of the Julian period five thouſand three hundred and thirty-five, on the ſixteenth of July.

The old Spaniſh æra is dated from the year thirty-eight before Chriſt, about the time when they were ſubdued by the Romans. It was uſed till the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty-three, under John I. of Caſtile.

The Egyptians long reckoned from the battle of Actium, which happened in the year thirty-one before Chriſt, of the Julian period four thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-three, on the third of September.

Before the Chriſtian æra was uſed, the Chriſtians

Chriſtians for ſome time made uſe of the Dioclefian æra, which took its riſe from the perſecution by Diocleſian, in the year two hundred and eighty-four after Chriſt.

The æra of Yeſdigerd is dated from the laſt king of Perſia, who was conquered by the Saracens, in the year ſix hundred and thirty-two after Chriſt, of the Julian period five thouſand three hundred and forty-five, on the ſixteenth of June.

With regard to all theſe methods of denominating time, care muſt be taken that the year be reckoned according to the method of computation followed by the people who uſe it. Thus, in reckoning from the Hegyra, a perſon would be led into a miſtake who ſhould make thoſe years correſpond to Julian years. He muſt deduct eleven days from every year which has elapſed ſince the commencement of it. Thus, though the firſt year of this æra correſponded to the year ſix hundred and twenty-two after Chriſt, and began on the ſixteenth of July; the year three hundred and twenty-ſix of the Hegyra correſponded to the year nine hundred and thirty-ſeven of Chriſt, and began November eight. And the year of the Hegyra ſix hundred and fifty-five commenced on the nineteenth of January, one thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſeven.

This compendium of chronology is ſufficient for the purpoſe of reading hiſtory, but is by no means a complete account of the methods of computing time in every particular country which has been mentioned. To have done this, would have carried me beyond my preſent purpoſe, and too far into the cuſtoms of particular countries. For a fuller account I refer you to Strauchius, and other chronologers.

LECTURE XV.

Of the Methods of eſtimating the Riches and Power of ancient and remote Nations. Sources of Miſtake on this Subject. Change in the Standard of Coin. Upon what the Price of Commodities depends. Of the Changes which the Grecian Coins underwent. Of the Proportion between Silver, Gold, and Copper, in ancient Times. Of the Changes in the Roman Coins. Of the Proportion of Money to Commodities in different Periods of the Grecian and Roman Hiſtory. Of the Intereſt of Money in Greece and at Rome.

An article of information the moſt immediately neceſſary to a reader of hiſtory, is how to make a juſt eſtimate of the riches and power of

of ancient and remote nations, and to compare them with thoſe of our own age and nation, by means of the expreſſions which hiſtorians have uſed to denote the riches and power of ſtates, and particularly by the ſums of money which are occaſionally mentioned in their writings. The true ſtate of the riches of nations, in the ſeveral periods of their hiſtory, will be pointed out as an object of the firſt importance to an hiſtorian. On this account it is of conſequence that every reader of hiſtory have it in his power to form a juſt idea of them from the *data* he finds in hiſtorians, and that he be guarded againſt the miſtakes which, without ſome previous inſtruction, he would unavoidably fall into with reſpect to them.

I ſhall therefore endeavour to explain the ſources of uncertainty, and ambiguity, that every circumſtance in our ſituation can occaſion to us, in interpreting the ſums of money which are mentioned in the hiſtories of the moſt conſiderable nations, and I ſhall then give ſuch a collection of *facts*, collected from hiſtory, as ſhall ſhow us the true ſtate of every thing connected with money in the moſt remarkable ſucceſſive periods of time in thoſe countries. By this means it will be eaſy to make every neceſſary allowance for the dif-

ference of circumſtances between us and them, and thus exhibit whatever accounts we meet with of the riches and power of ancient times and nations, in a fair contraſt with the riches and power of our own age and nation, and ſo to form the cleareſt idea we can get of them.

In order to this, it muſt be conſidered, that *money* is only a commodious repreſentative of the *commodities* which may be purchaſed with it; and we ſhall have the eaſieſt view of this ſubject if we, moreover, conſider *ſilver* as the only ſtandard of money, and gold and copper, as ſubſtitutes for ſilver, or as commodities which are repreſented, and may be purchaſed, by ſilver. Now, there are two things which may make an alteration in the repreſentative power of money. The one is a change of the idea annexed to any common name of a piece, or a ſum of money, and the other is an alteration of the proportion between the quantity of money in a ſtate, and the commodities repreſented by it. I ſhall explain each of theſe more particularly.

If a change be made in the ſtandard of a coin, which continues to go by the ſame name, it is plain that the ſame name no longer expreſſes the ſame idea, and therefore, if we be not aware of this change, we ſhall be miſled by the

the expreſſions. For inſtance, if the quantity of ſilver which we call *a pound* be at this time but half the quantity which was formerly called by that name, it is plain that, if we would form a juſt idea of the value of a pound in times previous to the alteration we muſt ſuppoſe it to be two of our preſent pounds, inſtead of one; for ſo in fact it is.

The tables of our coin only ſhow the proportion which ſums denoted by particular names, as pounds, ſhillings, pence, &c. bear to one another; and though theſe ſums may have always kept the ſame proportion, the abſolute value of them all may have changed. And *tables*, which ſhow the value of ancient or foreign money, are always calculated according to the laſt ſtandard of both, which is generally the loweſt. The preſent tables, therefore, are not ſufficient to inform a reader of hiſtory of the true value of ſums of money expended, or acquired in early times. He muſt alſo have an hiſtorical account of thoſe changes in the value of coin, which alter the quantity of metal contained in it, either by diminiſhing the ſize of the current pieces, or leſſening the fineneſs of the metal by a greater proportion of alloy.

As the generality of hiſtorians take no notice of changes in the value of money, but content

content themſelves with mentioning ſums by their common names, I ſhall endeavour (as far as the materials I have been able to collect will enable me) to ſupply this defect with reſpect to thoſe hiſtories which are moſt intereſting to us.

As it is a maxim in trade, that *every thing will find its value* (and indeed the value which the exchange of any thing, in buying and ſelling, has its real value, that is, its true relative value with reſpect to other things) the accounts of ſums exchanged for commodities in hiſtory are the only *data* we have given us, to determine this relative value of money; and if we have enow of theſe accounts, they will be abundantly ſufficient for the purpoſe.

To judge of the proportion between the quantity of circulating caſh in different nations, or different periods of the ſame nation, it is evident that we muſt not be guided by the price of any ſingle article, particularly an article of luxury; becauſe the prices of theſe things depend upon fancy and caprice, which are continually changing. The beſt guide upon the whole ſeems to be the price of mere *labour*, eſtimated by the wages given to perſons of the loweſt occupations. For theſe have been obſerved in all ages and nations, to be little more

more than a bare ſubſiſtence, and the articles of *their* expence muſt be the *neceſſaries* of life.

Beſides, it is ſelf-evident, that the man who can command the moſt of the labour of his fellow creatures is the richeſt, and the moſt powerful. For this, in fact, is all that wealth and power can procure a man. If it be ſaid that what is neceſſary in ſome countries is ſuperfluous in others, as clothes in hot climates, bread or fleſh meat in countries where each of thoſe articles may not be uſed, and the like, it is ſtill obvious, that the leſs money will purchaſe *neceſſaries*, whatever they be, the more value it is of, and the more a perſon may ſpare out of the ſame ſum for the conveniencies and ſuperfluities of life, by purchaſing the labour of his fellow creatures.

We are not, however, to judge of a man's wealth by the number of perſons he can maintain, unleſs thoſe perſons contribute nothing by their labour towards their own maintenance. He muſt, by commanding the labour of *others* (for it cannnot be done in any other way) maintain them. But if they be a continual expence to him, as if they were employed in building, or other great works, in the army, or kept upon charity, it ſeems to be a very fair medium of computation. If therefore, for inſtance,

ſtance, we read that one perſon was impoveriſhed by employing one thouſand labouring men upon any piece of work, and that another was able to keep two thouſand at work, we need not trouble ourſelves to conſider the ſituation of their different countries, and times, the prices of proviſion, manner of living, &c. but may very fairly conclude, that the one was twice as rich and powerful as the other.

Under the ſecond head, therefore, I ſhall endeavour to find the proportion between money and the neceſſaries of life in the different periods of thoſe hiſtories with which a gentleman and ſcholar would chooſe to be beſt acquainted. And at the ſame time that I endeavour, in this manner, to determine the proportion which the quantity of current money has borne to vendible commodities, I ſhall, likewiſe, take notice of the price of money with regard to itſelf, that is, the *intereſt* it has borne. It is true that the intereſt of money has been very juſtly called the barometer of ſtates with reſpect to other things than thoſe I am now conſidering, and which may be the ſubject of a future lecture; but in the mean time it may not be amiſs to take notice of it, at preſent as a commodity, and on many occaſions one of the moſt neceſſary. For ſince money may be of

of uſe like any other commodity which a perſon may take advantage of, he is the richeſt man (cæt. par.) whoſe ſtated revenues can purchaſe the moſt extenſive uſe of it.

Having explained the nature of this ſubject, I ſhall enter upon it, by giving the beſt account that I have been able to collect (taken almoſt wholly from Arbuthnot) of the ſucceſſive changes which have taken place in the value of nominal ſums of money among the Greeks and Romans, with the proportion which they bore to commodities, and then give a more particular account of the like changes and proportions in Engliſh and French money, and to each I ſhall ſubjoin an account of the changes in the rate of intereſt; not that I ſhall perhaps keep all theſe articles perfectly diſtinct, ſince very little inconvenience, and perhaps ſome advantage, may ariſe from occaſionally mixing them.

The Greek coins underwent very little change compared with that of the Roman money, or of the money of modern European ſtates, and therefore the leſs worthy of our notice. All the allowance we are to make for the changes of value in the *Drachma* (a coin equal to the Roman *Denarius*, and worth about eight-pence of our preſent money), and to which

which the changes of value in the reſt of their money correſponded is, that from Solon to the time of Alexander we muſt reckon ſixty-ſeven grains for the weight of it, thence to the ſubjection of Greece by the Romans ſixty-five, and under the Romans ſixty-two and an half, a change which is very inconſiderable.

The conſtant and ſtated rate of the value of gold to ſilver among the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, in the whole period of ancient times, was ten to one with very little variation, and the rate of ſilver to Cyprian braſs one hundred to one; and the general ſuppoſition is, that there was one fiftieth part of alloy in the gold coins of the ancients. At preſent gold is to ſilver as about fifteen to one, and ſilver to copper as ſeventy-three to one.

Numa, or Servius Tullius, firſt ſtamped braſs money among the Romans, ſilver was not ſtamped by them till the year of the city four hundred and eighty-five, the time of their war with Pyrrhus, and gold not till ſixty-two years after.

The *As*, from being a pound weight averdupois, fell to two ounces in the firſt Punic war, in the ſecond Punic war to one ounce, and preſently after it was fixed by the Papyrian law to half an ounce. Theſe alterations were occaſioned

occaſioned by the neceſſities of the commonwealth; but, as Arbuthnot obſerves, the plenty of gold and ſilver would have done the ſame thing, and have brought down ſuch an enormous braſs coin; or rather ſilver coins of an equal value, and of leſs weight, would have been introduced.

It may eaſily be imagined how ſcarce ſilver was at Rome when, in all the early times of the Roman hiſtory, eight hundred and forty pounds of braſs were equivalent to one of ſilver. Some ſay the proportion between theſe two metals before the firſt Punic war was nine hundred and ſixty to one. The different proportion which was juſt now obſerved to have taken place in Greece, during the ſame period, ſhows how little communication there was between Greece and Rome in thoſe times. Indeed the commonwealth gradually reduced this proportion, probably in conſequence of a freer intercourſe with other nations, which would neceſſarily be attended with the introduction of ſilver where it was ſo ſcarce.

The adulteration of the Roman coin in ſome periods of their hiſtory exceeds any thing we read of with reſpect to other countries. The money of Caracalla had more than one half alloy, that of Alexander Severus two-thirds, and

and under Gallienus it was nothing more than gilt copper.

To enable us to judge of the proportion of money to commodities, I have ſelected ſome of the accounts that I have met with concerning the moſt neceſſary articles of conſumption in the ſeveral countries and ages which I have propoſed to conſider.

Corn was commonly reckoned in Greece at a drachma the medimnus, which, reduced to our computation, is four ſhillings and ſixpence per quarter. In Demoſthenes's time it was much higher; being five drachmas the medimnus, which is about one pound two ſhillings and ſeven-pence per quarter. In times of plenty in Greece the price of a ſheep was eight-pence, of a hog two ſhillings, an ox three pounds three ſhillings; and a ſoldier ſerved for a drachma a day, which is about eight-pence. Upon the whole, we may perhaps allow that the proportion of money to commodities in the moſt flouriſhing time of Greece, or the time in which the claſſical hiſtorians wrote, was about one-third leſs than it is at preſent with us; which was about the ſame that it was in Europe before the diſcovery of America.

As the common people of Rome lived very much

much upon bread corn, the price of that article will be a better guide to us than any other ſingle circumſtance in judging of the proportion between money and the neceſſaries of life among them. The ancient price of corn in Rome, and to which it was reduced at the burning of Rome by Nero, was three nummi the modius, that is three-pence three-farthings the peck. According to Pliny, the coarſeſt bread was made of corn worth forty aſes, equal to two ſhillings and ſix-pence three-farthings a peck; of wheaten bread forty-eight aſes, equal to three ſhillings and three-farthings; and the fineſt of all eighty aſes, or five ſhillings and one-penny farthing; ſo that about the time of Pliny, corn was conſiderably dearer in Rome than it is commonly at London.

The article which ſtands next to bread corn among the neceſſaries of life is *cloathing*. Common wearing cloaths, made of wool, ſuch as were always worn at Rome, we ſhould not think very dear. For Cato the elder never wore a ſuit worth above one hundred drachms, equal to three pounds four ſhillings and ſeven-pence; and we muſt conſider that the Roman cloaths were not made cloſe, but large, and looſe, and therefore would laſt longer

than our cloſe garments. This article is likewiſe to be underſtood of plain undyed cloth, which was white; for the expence of *dyeing*, particularly purple, which the Romans and the ancients in general moſt of all affected, was prodigious. Pelagium, one ſpecies of that dye, was worth fifty nummi, equal to eight ſhillings and eleven-pence, per pound. The buccinum, another ſpecies of it, was double that value; the violet purple was three pounds ten ſhillings and eleven-pence per pound, and the Tyrian double dye could ſcarcely be bought for thirty-five pounds nine ſhillings and one penny farthing per pound. There muſt alſo have been a great difference in the fineneſs of their wool, and conſequently in the price of it. For a Roman pound of Padua wool, the fineſt of all (though indeed when it was rather dear) ſold for one hundred nummi, at which rate the Engliſh pound Troy comes to ſeventeen ſhillings and eight-pence three farthings.

Wine ſeems always to have been cheap at Rome. For, according to Collumella, the common ſort was worth eight pounds per ton.

In the early times of Rome, the price of a good calf was twenty-five aſes, equal to one ſhilling and ſeven-pence three-eighths. The price of a ſheep a denarius, or eight-pence, and

and the price of an ox ten times as much. Theſe articles Arbuthnot quotes from Pliny, who, no doubt, makes allowance for the alteration in the coin. Otherwiſe they muſt have been much dearer than we can reaſonably ſuppoſe in the early times of the commonwealth. According to Varro, ſheep in his time, were commonly worth twenty-five ſhillings each, a bullock twelve pounds ten ſhillings, and a calf three pounds two ſhillings and ſixpence. This makes the price of butcher's meat nearly the ſame as in London.

An Engliſh acre of middling land, for a vineyard, was worth, according to Collumella, fourteen pounds fifteen ſhillings and threepence, and the Jugerum was to the Engliſh acre as ten to ſixteen. According to the ſame author, the common mean rent of an acre of paſture ground was one pound eight ſhillings and ten-pence. Lands were commonly reckoned at twenty-five years purchaſe. For the lands of the government were ſo let, paying according to the rate of four pounds per cent.

The price of land was conſiderably increaſed by the great treaſures brought to Rome in Auguſtus's reign. An acre of the beſt ground in the city of Rome, under the emperors, may

be reckoned to have brought in a ground rent of five pounds per annum.

The price of an ordinary ſlave, in Cato major's time, was three hundred and ſeventy-ſeven drachms, equal to forty-eight pounds eight ſhillings and nine-pence.

Before Domitian, the Roman ſoldiers ſerved for under five-pence, and afterwards for about ſix-pence a day; ſo that if we take the price of day labour from the pay of a ſoldier (which in moſt countries, and particularly ancient nations, it hardly ever exceeds) it will not make it much higher in Rome than in England.

From the prices of all theſe articles taken together, we ſhould conclude that the proportion which money bore to commodities in the moſt flouriſhing times of the commonwealth, and under the firſt emperors, was rather higher than it bears at preſent with us. But this could only be the caſe at Rome, and the neighbourhood of it. All the neceſſaries of life were conſiderably cheaper in Greece. Polybius, who lived in the time of the third Punic war, ſays that proviſions were ſo cheap in Italy in his time, that, in ſome places, the ſtated club in the inns was a ſemis a head, which is but little more than a farthing. And under the later emperors the prices of all neceſſaries were certainly

certainly nearly the ſame that they were in England before the diſcovery of America.

All the articles mentioned above relate to what may be called the *neceſſaries* of life. How extravagant the Romans were in entertainments and the elegancies of life, we may form ſome idea of from the following circumſtance, that Roſcius the actor (whoſe profeſſion was leſs reſpectable at Rome than it is even with us) could gain five hundred ſeſtertia, equal to four thouſand and thirty-ſix pounds nine ſhillings and two-pence per annum; and per day when he acted one thouſand nummi, equal to thirty-two pounds five ſhillings and ten-pence. Various curious inſtances of Roman luxury may be ſeen in Arbuthnot.

The moſt moderate *intereſt* at Athens was twelve per cent. paid monthly, and according to Ariſtophanes it was ſomewhat more. The rent of other things, likewiſe, was very high in proportion to their value. Antidorus, ſays Demoſthenes, paid three talents and an half for a houſe, which he let for a talent a year. If this were true, admitting it to have been an extraordinary caſe, it is no wonder that the hire of money bore ſo extraordinary a price in proportion to its value. Such circumſtances as theſe are a demonſtration of the precarious ſtate

of property. For both with regard to money, and every thing elſe, the more ſecure it is ſuppoſed to be, the leſs annual intereſt is required in proportion to its value.

In the early times of the Roman commonwealth too, intereſt was at a medium, twelve per cent. In the flouriſhing times of the commonwealth it was at ſix, and though it was ſuddenly reduced to four upon the conqueſt of Egypt, it preſently roſe to its old ſtandard; and in Pliny's time ſix per cent. was the public cuſtomary intereſt of money; Juſtinian reduced it to four per cent. and money lent to maſters of ſhips to one per cent. per month. This kind of intereſt had before been two per cent. per month.

But there was a peculiarity in the Roman method of putting out money to intereſt, which muſt be explained, as we have nothing like it with us. With them it was cuſtomary after one hundred and one months to add ſix per cent. to the principal, beſides the ſimple intereſt which was due upon the ſum. This they called *anatociſmos*, ſo that their uſual rate for long intereſt was neither ſimple nor compound, but ſomething between both.

LECTURE XVI.

Of the Engliſh Coins. Saxon and Norman Coins compared. When Gold and Copper began to be coined by our Kings. A Table of all the Changes in the Value of Engliſh Coins. The Proportion between Gold and Silver, and between Coin and Commodities in different Periods of our Hiſtory. A Table of all the Changes of the French Coins from the Time of Charlemagne. A general Idea of the Proportion it has, at different Times, borne to Commodities in France. Of the different Rates of Intereſt in Europe in different Periods. The Number and Riches of a People to be conſidered in computing the proportional Quantities of the Money they raiſe.

THE Engliſh money, though the ſame names do by no means correſpond to the ſame quantity of precious metal as formerly, has not changed ſo much as the money of moſt other countries. In this part of my ſubject I am ſo happy as to be able to give a much more complete deduction of the changes both in the value of money, and the proportion it has borne to commodities, than in the preceding. A view of all the changes which the ſtandard of our money has ever undergone, I ſhall preſent to you

at once, in a table extracted from the account lately publiſhed of *Engliſh coins* by the ſociety of antiquaries. But previous to this it will be proper to inform you, that, in the Saxon times, a ſhilling (at one time at leaſt) was reckoned to contain five pence or pennyweights, and one pound contained forty-eight ſhillings, which is the ſame number of pence that a pound contains now.

However, the proportion between the *ſhilling* and either the *penny* on the one hand, or the *pound* on the other, ſeems not to have been ſo conſtant and uniform as that between the *penny* and the *pound*. During the firſt race of the kings of France, the French *ſou*, or *ſhilling*, appears upon different occaſions, to have contained five, twelve, twenty, and forty pennies. From the time of Charlemagne among the French, and from that of William the Conqueror among the Engliſh, the proportion between the *pound*, the *ſhilling*, and the *penny*, ſeems to have been uniformly the ſame as at preſent *.

Though a different diſtribution of the ſubdiviſions of a pound was introduced with the Normans, yet William the Conqueror brought

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 40.

no

no new weight into his mint; but the ſame weight uſed there ſome ages after, and called the *pound of the tower of London*, was the old pound of the Saxon moniers before the conqueſt. This pound was lighter than the pound troy by three ounces. It was divided into two hundred and forty pence, and conſequently the intrinſic value of that ſum in weight was the ſame as the value of fifty-eight ſhillings and three halfpence of our preſent coined money.

It may not be improper alſo to premiſe, that Edward III. was the firſt of our kings who coined any gold; and that no copper was coined by authority before James I. Theſe pieces were not called *farthings*, but *farthing tokens*, and all people were at liberty to take or refuſe them. Before the time of Edward III. gold was exchanged, like any other commodity, by its weight; and before the time of James I. copper was ſtamped by any perſon who choſe to do it.

The following table exhibits, at one view, the ſtandard of our ſilver money as to goodneſs, together with the true weight of two hundred and forty pence, ſixty groats, or twenty ſhillings, making the pound ſterling in tale, and the preſent intrinſic value of ſo much ſilver as was reſpectively contained in the ſame pound

pound ſterling at the ſeveral times there noted in the firſt column. To this is alſo added, in the laſt, the ſame intrinſic value of the nominal pound ſterling, expreſſed in decimals of our preſent ſterling pound; whereby the proportion of the intrinſic value of any ſum of money mentioned in books, to the intrinſic value of ſo much money as it is now called by the ſame appellation, may immediately be known, and the prices of proviſions, labour, and materials in former times, may readily be compared with the different prices which the like proviſions, labour, and materials, are found to bear at this day.

The meaning of the term *old ſterling*, in the ſecond column of the following table, is that eleven ounces two pennyweights of fine ſilver, were contained in twelve ounces of old coin. The numbers which expreſs the alterations made afterwards ſhow the additional quantity of alloy uſed in ſome reigns.

TABLE.

TABLE.

Year of the king's reign, and A. D.		Standard of Silver.	Weight of 20s. in tale.	Value of fame in preſent money.	Proportion.
			oz. dwts. grs.	l. s. d.	
Conqueſt -	1066	Old ſterling	11 5 0	2 18 $1\frac{1}{2}$	2,906
28 Edward I.	1300	Ditto	11 2 5	2 17 5	2,871
18 Edw. III.	1344	Ditto	10 3 0	2 12 $5\frac{1}{4}$	2,621
20 ditto -	1346	Ditto	10 0 0	2 11 8	2,583
27 ditto -	1353	Ditto	9 0 0	2 6 6	2,325
13 Henry IV.	1412	Ditto	7 10 0	1 18 9	1,937
4 Edw. IV.	1464	Ditto	6 0 0	1 11 0	1,550
18 Hen. VIII.	1527	Ditto	5 6 16	1 7 $6\frac{1}{4}$	1,378
34 ditto -	1543	w. 1 oz. 2 dw.	5 0 0	1 3 $3\frac{1}{4}$	1,163
36 ditto -	1545	5 2	Ditto	0 13 $11\frac{1}{2}$	0,698
37 ditto -	1540	7 2	Ditto	0 9 $3\frac{1}{4}$	0,466
3 Edw. VI.	1549	5 2	3 6 16	Ditto	Ditto
5 ditto -	1551	8 2	Ditto	0 4 $7\frac{1}{4}$	0,232
6 ditto -	1552	0 1	4 0 0	1 0 $6\frac{3}{4}$	1,028
1 Mary -	1553	0 2	Ditto	1 0 $5\frac{3}{4}$	1,024
2 Eliz. -	1560	Old ſterling	Ditto	1 0 8	1,033
43 ditto -	1601	Ditto	3 17 10	1 0 0	1,000

It appears that in the twenty-ſeventh year of king Edward III. 1353, when the firſt conſiderable coinage of gold was made in England, fine gold was rated in our coins at eleven times and about one ſixth-part as much as fine ſilver. But even this value of gold was thought too great in the time of Henry IV.; and the ſame being complained of, by the regulations made in his thirteenth year, 1412, gold came to be exchanged for ten times and about a third of an equal quantity of ſilver. In the fourth year of Edward IV. 1464, gold was

was again valued at a little more than eleven times the price of ſilver. During one hundred and forty years next following there was ſcarce any alteration made in the proportional value of the two metals, excepting only in the times of confuſion, between the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. and the laſt of Edward VI.; and by the indentures of the forty-third year of queen Elizabeth, and thoſe of the firſt of king James, 1603, the pound weight of fine gold in the coin was yet rated at ſomewhat leſs than eleven pounds weight of ſilver. But ſoon after that time the price of gold was ſenſibly advanced, the pound weight of it being valued in the indentures of the ſecond year of king James at more than twelve pounds and an ounce; and in the ſeventeenth year of the ſame king, at more than thirteen pounds four ounces and three pennyweights of fine ſilver. When guineas came firſt to be coined for twenty ſhilling pieces, in the fifteenth year of Charles II. 1663, the pound of fine gold was made equivalent to fourteen pounds five ounces ſixteen pennyweights and nine grains of fine ſilver; which value (by the running of guineas as they now do for twenty-one ſhillings each) is yet farther advanced to fifteen pounds two ounces ten penny-

pennyweights and ſeven grains of the ſame ſilver.

The Scots money pound contained, from the time of Alexander the Firſt, to that of Robert Bruce, a pound of ſilver of the ſame weight and fineneſs with the Engliſh pound ſterling. Their pound and penny now contain about a thirty-ſixth part of their original value.*

Having thus exhibited a view of the ſucceſſive changes of the Engliſh coin to the preſent time, I ſhall endeavour to aſcertain the proportion that money has from time to time borne to commodities, by means of the prices of things taken at proper intervals, from the times of the Saxons down to our own.

In the year 712 and 727 an ewe and lamb were rated at one ſhilling Saxon money till a fortnight after Eaſter. Between 900 and 1000, two hydes of land, each containing about one hundred and twenty acres, were ſold for one hundred ſhillings. In 1000, by king Ethelred's laws, a horſe was rated at thirty ſhillings, a mare, or a colt of a year old, at twenty ſhillings, a mule, or young aſs, at twelve ſhillings, an ox at thirty pence, a cow at twenty-four pence, a ſwine eight-

* Smith on the Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 39. 41.

pence,

pence, a ſheep at one ſhilling. In 1043, a quarter of wheat was ſold for ſixty pence. From theſe, and ſome other ſimilar facts, it is computed that in the Saxon times, there was ten times leſs money in proportion to commodities than at preſent. Their nominal ſpecies, therefore, being about three times higher than ours, the price of every thing, according to our preſent language, muſt be reckoned thirty times cheaper than it is now.

In the reign of William the Conqueror commodities were ten times cheaper than they are at preſent; from which we cannot help forming a very high idea of the wealth and power of that king. For the revenue of William the Conqueror was four hundred thouſand pounds per annum, every pound being equal to that weight of ſilver. Conſequently the whole may be eſtimated at one million two hundred thouſand pounds of the preſent computation; a ſum which, conſidering the different value of money between that period and the preſent time, was equivalent to twelve millions of modern eſtimation.

The moſt neceſſary commodities do not ſeem to have advanced their price from William the Conqueror to Richard I.

The

The price of corn in the reign of Henry III. was near half the mean price in our times. Biſhop Fleetwood has ſhown that in the year 1240, which was in this reign, four pounds thirteen ſhillings and nine-pence was worth about fifty pounds of our preſent money. About the latter end of this reign Robert de Hay, rector of Souldern, agreed to receive one hundred ſhillings to purchaſe to himſelf and ſucceſſor the annual rent of five ſhillings, in full compenſation of an acre of corn.

Butcher's meat, in the time of the great ſcarcity in the reign of Edward II. was, by a parliamentary ordinance, ſold three times cheaper than our mean price at preſent; poultry ſomewhat lower, becauſe being now conſidered as a delicacy, it has riſen beyond its proportion. The mean price of corn in this period was half the preſent value, and the mean price of cattle one-eighth.

In the next reign, which was that of Edward III. the moſt neceſſary commodities were, in general, about three or four times cheaper than they are at preſent.

In theſe times knights, who ſerved on horſeback in the army, had two ſhillings a day, and a foot archer ſix-pence; which laſt would now be equal to a crown a day. This pay

pay has continued nearly the ſame nominally (only that in the time of the commonwealth the pay of the horſe was advanced to two ſhillings and ſixpence, and that of the foot to one ſhilling; though it was reduced again at the reſtoration) but ſoldiers were proportionably of a better rank formerly.

In the time of Henry VI. corn was about half its preſent value, other commodities much cheaper. Biſhop Fleetwood has determined, from a moſt accurate conſideration of every circumſtance, that five pounds in this reign were equivalent to twenty-eight, or thirty, now.

In the time of Henry VII. many commodities were three times as cheap here, and in all Europe, as they are at preſent, there having been a great increaſe of gold and ſilver in Europe ſince his time, occaſioned by the diſcovery of America.

The commodities whoſe price has riſen the moſt ſince before the time of Henry VII. are butcher's meat, fowls, and fiſh; eſpecially the latter. And the reaſon why corn was always much dearer in proportion to other eatables, according to their prices at preſent, is, that in early times agriculture was little underſtood. It required more labour and expence, and was more precarious

precarious than it is at preſent. Indeed, notwithſtanding the high price of corn in the times we are ſpeaking of, the raiſing of it ſo little anſwered the expence, that agriculture was almoſt univerſally quitted for grazing; which was more profitable, notwithſtanding the low price of butcher's meat. So that there was conſtant occaſion for ſtatutes to reſtrain grazing, and to promote agriculture; and no effectual remedy was found till the bounty upon the exportation of corn; ſince which, above ten times more corn has been raiſed in this country than before.

The price of corn in the time of James I. and conſequently that of other neceſſaries of life, was not lower, but rather higher, than at preſent; wool is not two-thirds of the value it was then; the finer manufactures having rather ſunk in price by the progreſs of art and induſtry, notwithſtanding the increaſe of money. Butcher's meat was higher than at preſent. Prince Henry made an allowance of near four-pence per pound for all the beef and mutton uſed in his family. This may be true with reſpect to London; but the price of butcher's meat in the country, which does not even now much exceed this price at a medium, has cer-

tainly greatly increaſed of late years, and particularly in the northern counties.

The FRENCH money has ſuffered much more by the diminution of its value than the Engliſh. Voltaire gives the following general account of it. The numerary pound in the time of Charlemagne was twelve ounces of ſilver. This pound was divided into 20 ſols, and the ſols into twelve deniers. In Europe that ſol, which was equal to a crown at preſent, is now no more than a light piece of copper with a mixture of at moſt one-eleventh of ſilver. The livre which formerly repreſented twelve ounces of ſilver, is in France no more than twenty copper ſols, and the denier is one-third of that baſe coin we call a liard. Whereas a pound ſterling is worth about twenty-two francs of France, and the Dutch pound is nearly equal to twelve. But the following table will exhibit all the ſucceſſive changes of the French livre in a more particular and diſtinct manner.

Reigns.	Dates.	Value of the Money in the preſent Money of France.		
Charlemagne from -	763 to 1113	66 Livres	8 Sols.	o Den.
Lewis VI. VII. - -	1113 to 1158	18	13	6
Philip Auguſtus - -	1222	19	18	4½
St. Lewis and Phil. the Hardy - -	1226	18	4	11
Phil. the Fair - -	1285	17	19	o
Lewis Hutin and Philip the Long - -	1313	18	8	10
Charles the Fair - -	1321	17	3	7
Philip de Valois - -	1344	14	11	10
John - - - - -	1364	9	19	2⅔
Charles V. - - -	1380	9	9	8
Charles VI. - - -	1422	7	2	3
Charles VII. - - -	1461	5	13	9
Lewis XI. - - - -	1483	4	19	7
Charles VIII. - -	1497	4	10	7
Lewis XII. - - -	1514	3	19	8
Francis I. - - - -	1546	3	11	2
Hen. II. and Francis II.	1559	3	6	
Charles IX. - - -	1574	2	18	7
Henry III. - - -	1589	2	12	11
Henry IV. - - -	1611	2	8	o
Lewis XIII. - - -	1642	1	15	3
Lewis XIV. - - -	1715	1	4	11
Lewis XV. - - - -	1720	o	8	o
Preſent Livre - -	1720	1	o	o

Voltaire alſo gives us the following uſeful caution with reſpect to the computations made by ſeveral conſiderable French writers. Rollin, Fleury, and all the moſt uſeful writers, when they would expreſs the value of talents, minæ and ſeſterces, compute by an eſtimate made before the death of Colbert. But the mark of eight ounces, which was then worth

twenty-ſix francs, ten ſols, is now worth forty-nine livres ten ſols; a difference which amounts to near one half. Without remembering this variation we ſhould have a very erroneous idea of the ſtrength of ancient ſtates, &c.

The changes in the proportion between money and commodities in France may eaſily be imagined to have kept pace pretty nearly with thoſe in England, and therefore need not be particularly pointed out. Accordingly, Voltaire obſerves that all proviſions were eight or ten times cheaper in proportion to the quantity of money in Charlemagne's time; but he cannot be ſuppoſed to ſpeak very accurately, when he ſays that in the reign of Lewis XI. who was contemporary with Edward IV. money, meaning of the ſame ſtandard, was worth about double of what it is at preſent, and alſo that it was of the ſame value in the reign of Lewis XIII. who reigned in the laſt year of James I. and the beginning of Charles I. For betwixt thoſe two reigns was an interval of one hundred and fifty years, in which was the diſcovery of America, which occaſioned the greateſt general alteration of the proportion between money and commodities that ever was made in this part of the world. In the former reign, therefore, the value of money

muſt

muſt have been much greater, and perhaps in the latter reign leſs, than he makes it. At preſent the prices of commodities are higher in England than in France, beſides that the poor people of France live upon much leſs than the poor in England, and their armies are maintained at leſs expence. It is computed by Mr. Hume, that a Britiſh army of twenty thouſand men is maintained at near as great an expence as ſixty thouſand in France, and that the Engliſh fleet in the war of 1741 required as much money to ſupport it as all the Roman legions in the time of the emperors. However, all that we can conclude from this laſt article is, that money is much more plentiful in Europe at preſent than it was in the Roman empire.

In the thirteenth century the common intereſt which the Jews had for their money, Voltaire ſays, was twenty per cent. But with regard to this we muſt conſider the great contempt that nation was always held in, the large contributions they were frequently obliged to pay, the riſk they run of never receiving the principal, the frequent confiſcation of all their effects, and the violent perſecutions to which they were expoſed; in which circumſtances it was impoſſible for them to lend money at all unleſs for a moſt extravagant intereſt, and much diſpro-

portioned to its real value. Before the diſcovery of America, and the plantation of our colonies, the intereſt of money was generally twelve per cent. all over Europe; and it has been growing gradually leſs ſince that time till it is now generally about four or five.

When ſums of money are ſaid to be raiſed by a whole people, in order to form a juſt eſtimate of them, we muſt take into conſideration not only the quantity of the precious metal according to the ſtandard of the coin, and the proportion of the quantity of coin to the commodities, but alſo the number and riches of the people who raiſe it. For admitting the two circumſtances which have been already explained to be the ſame; ſtill populous and rich countries will much more eaſily raiſe any certain ſum of money than one that is thinly inhabited, and chiefly by poor people. This circumſtance greatly adds to our ſurpriſe at the vaſt ſums of money raiſed by William the Conqueror, who had a revenue nearly in value equal to twelve millions of pounds of our money (allowance being made for the ſtandard of coin and the proportion it bore to commodities) from a country not near ſo populous or rich as England is at preſent. Indeed the accounts hiſtorians give us of the revenues of this

this prince, and the treaſure he left behind him, are barely credible.

Next to judging of the real value of ſums of money mentioned by hiſtorians, it is of importance to have juſt ideas of the *meaſures of length and capacity*, which occur in them. But theſe are ſubject to little variation, ſo that the common tables of thoſe things, whether adapted to the preſent or former times; to our own or remote nations, are ſufficient for the purpoſe of reading hiſtory, and require no illuſtration.

PART IV.

DIRECTIONS FOR FACILITATING THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

LECTURE XVII.

Uſe of Compendiums. The beſt Epitomes of Hiſtory. Mechanical Methods which have been uſed to facilitate the Study of Hiſtory. Chronological Tables. Character of different Tables. Sturt's Tables. Genealogical Tables.

In the fourth diviſion of our ſubject, which we are now entering upon, I propoſed to give

you ſome directions for facilitating the ſtudy of hiſtory; both that it may more effectually anſwer the end propoſed by it, and that you may purſue it with more ſatisfaction.

One of the moſt uſeful directions I can give you is to begin with authors who preſent you with a *compendium*, or general view of the whole ſubject of hiſtory, and afterwards to apply to the ſtudy of any particular hiſtory with which you chooſe to be more thoroughly acquainted. This is like ſketching an entire outline before you finiſh any part of a picture, and learning the grand diviſions of the earth before you ſtudy the geography of particular countries; and ſeveral very obvious advantages attend this method, to whatever it be applied.

The principal advantage of this method in ſtudying hiſtory is, that you have hereby a clear idea what figure the hiſtory to which you propoſe to give more particular attention makes in the hiſtory of the world; and by this means are enabled to judge, in ſome meaſure, of the importance of it. Beſides, it will contribute greatly to your ſatisfaction in reading hiſtory, and anſwer ſome uſeful purpoſes in the ſtudy of it, to have ſome idea of the preceding, the contemporary, and (if it

it be ancient hiſtory) of the ſucceeding ſtate of the world in general, and of that particular part of the world of which you are reading. Whereas that knowledge can be but very limited, and ſcanty, which is derived from ever ſo minute an inſpection of any ſingle portion of hiſtory. As well might we expect a good judgment of the regularity and beauty of an extenſive building from viewing a ſmall part of it. We are only miſled by ſuch a method of ſtudy. But a cloſe examination of particular parts is very uſeful after a general view of the whole of any thing.

For this reaſon, the hiſtory of our own country, though the moſt worthy of a particular ſtudy, is not proper to begin with. We can form no idea of the Engliſh nation in general, and the hiſtory of it, with regard to the reſt of the world, unleſs we can compare an idea of the whole compaſs of it with a like idea of the whole compaſs of hiſtory in general, or that of other particular nations. But, when once we have got a general idea how the whole courſe of hiſtory, as we may ſay, lies, we apply with pleaſure and advantage to the more minute conſideration of our own country, and prevent any prejudice or inconvenience of any kind, which we ſhould

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be expoſed to from a cloſe attention to ſo ſmall a portion of hiſtory, without knowing its relation to the whole of hiſtory, of which it is a part.

This ſame advice is applicable to a perſon who propoſes to ſtudy any particular *period* of the hiſtory of a particular country. Let him firſt make himſelf acquainted with the hiſtory of the country in general, and then ſtudy the hiſtory of the particular period. It is but a very imperfect idea that a perſon could get of the hiſtory of the civil wars in England during the reign of Charles I.; for inſtance, from reading ſuch a ſingle hiſtory as that of Clarendon, were the performance ever ſo excellent, while confined to the occurrences of that time. We ought to go very far back in our hiſtory to have a juſt idea of the true ſtate of the parties that exiſted in thoſe times, and the oppoſition of which occaſioned ſuch a dreadful convulſion in the Engliſh government.

I may add, that it is men's forming their notions of ſuch times as theſe from detached pieces, particularly ſuch as are written by the known friends of one or other of the parties, from profeſſed panegyricks or invectives, or from ſermons (which are almoſt always one

or

or the other of them, and generally the extremes of the one or the other) that they are more than miſled in their ideas of theſe times. From this method of forming ideas of hiſtory is derived much of the bigotry, and ſpirit of faction, which has prevailed in this, or any other nation. This advice, therefore, to peruſe ſome account of the whole of hiſtory before you apply to any particular hiſtory, and the whole of any particular hiſtory before you ſtudy any particular period of it, is of more importance than at firſt ſight it appears to be.

This general acquaintance with the whole courſe of hiſtory will make it leſs neceſſary to attend to the *order* in which particular hiſtories are read; becauſe a perſon thus prepared will be able to refer any particular hiſtory he takes up to its proper place in univerſal hiſtory. And though particular hiſtories be read without any regard to the order of time or place, they will eaſily range themſelves, as we may ſay, without any confuſion, in their proper place in his mind.

Beſides, univerſal hiſtory is an immenſe field, with which the compaſs of no ſingle life is ſufficient to bring a man even tolerably acquainted. Since, therefore, it is only a part of hiſtory that any perſon can propoſe to make himſelf

himſelf intimately acquainted with, it is of advantage to be able to chooſe the moſt important part, and what is moſt worthy of his attention, which he will be able to do from having a general idea of the whole ſubject of hiſtory in its proper order and connexion.

The moſt celebrated epitome of univerſal hiſtory written in Latin is *Turſelin*'s, which is read in moſt of the foreign univerſities. It is indeed a judicious and elegant performance; but in almoſt every page of the modern parts there are ſuch marks of ſtrong attachment to the principles of popery, as cannot but give diſguſt to a zealous proteſtant. Boſſuet's epitome of univerſal hiſtory is greatly and deſervedly admired in France; but it brings the hiſtory no lower than the time of Charlemagne. One of the moſt uſeful epitomes, upon the whole, is that written by baron Holberg in Latin, and tranſlated with improvements into Engliſh by Gregory Sharpe. The principal defect in it is, that too little notice is taken of the hiſtory of Greece. The moſt valuable of the larger kind of epitomes are Rollin's of the ancient hiſtory, and Puffendorf's of the modern.

One of the moſt obvious contrivances to reduce hiſtory into a ſhort compaſs, and to make

make an entire courſe of it eaſy to be comprehended, and at the ſame time to obſerve a proper diſtinction between the parts of it, has been by CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES; and if they conſiſt of nothing more than an enumeration of the capital events in hiſtory, thrown together promiſcuouſly, without any diſtinction of kingdoms, regard being only had to the order of time in which the events happened, they have their uſe. We thereby ſee the principal things that hiſtory exhibits, and from the dates annexed to each article, may form an idea of the interval of time between each of them. Such tables as theſe are publiſhed along with a variety of ſingle hiſtories, to which, indeed, they are particularly ſuited. Such is the *Short Chronicle* prefixed to *Newton's Chronology*.

But when a hiſtory is very complex, it may eaſily be conceived to be a great advantage to have the ſeparate parts kept diſtinct, by being arranged in different columns. By this means we have a diſtinct idea of the courſe of any ſingle hiſtory, and at the ſame time a clear comparative view of the contemporary ſtate of any other hiſtory which runs parallel with it. The confuſion attending the neglect of this method may be ſeen in the chronological tables

tables publiſhed with the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, and the advantage of adopting it in ſuch tables as *Marſhall's*, *Tallent's*, &c. Indeed thoſe adapted to the Univerſal Hiſtory, could not have been brought into any tolerable compaſs on a more diſtinct and perfect plan.

Beſides a diſtinct view of the ſucceſſion of events in different hiſtories, it is an advantage to have, in ſeparate columns, an account of the *great men*, in arts or arms, which each age has produced. This has been exhibited by the laſt mentioned authors and others. Two columns are quite ſufficient for this purpoſe; one for *ſtateſmen* and *warriors*, and the other for *men of learning*.

Another improvement in chronological tables has been to annex a variety of *dates*, in diſtinct columns, to every event, to ſave the reader the trouble of reducing the different methods of computation to one another. But many chronologers have multiplied theſe different epochas far beyond any real uſe, ſo as greatly to encumber their page, and leave little room for more valuable matter. *Helvicus*, among others, is an example of this. Four æras are abundantly ſufficient, namely, the year before and after Chriſt, and the Julian period to run through the whole extent of the work;

work; the Olympiads for the courſe of the Grecian hiſtory, and the year of the city for the Roman. Theſe are uſed by Blair.

The laſt and capital improvement in chronological tables, which has been effected in ſome meaſure by Tallent, and Marſhall, more perfectly in *Helvicus*, but moſt completely by *Blair*, is to diſpoſe the events in ſuch a manner, as that the diſtance at which they are placed, without attending to the date in the margin, ſhall give a juſt idea of the real interval of time between them. This is done by having a ſingle line, or any ſet ſpace, appropriated to any certain period of time, or number of years.

In the chronological tables engraved by *Sturt* we ſee a great deal of matter, by a ſingular method, and the help of arbitrary and ſymbolical characters, crowded into a ſhort compaſs; ſo that we ſee the ſtate of the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe for any century ſince the Chriſtian æra in a ſingle page. This author has alſo annexed an alphabetical index to his work, in which, by the help of ſymbols, he has expreſſed the character of every Prince mentioned in his tables, and the principal events of his life. This ſmall work is valuable for its conciſeneſs, but is not ſo much recommended by its diſtinctneſs.

Very

Very much of the perſpicuity of hiſtory depends on conceiving clearly the order of *generations* and the *right of ſucceſſion* in regal and other families, i. e. in what manner the great perſonages who have been competitors for crowns, or rivals in power, were related to one another. In this reſpect GENEALOGICAL TABLES are of unſpeakable uſe. Indeed it is not poſſible, by words, to give ſo eaſy and perfect a view of the deſcent of families, as by the help of lines and figures. For local poſition is apprehended entirely, with whatever can be repreſented by it, at one view, and without the leaſt danger of miſtake; whereas if the hiſtory of family connexions, which is neceſſarily a very complex and intricate thing, be expreſſed in words, we ſee only a part at a time; and before the whole can be laid before us, in this ſlow manner, ſome eſſential circumſtance will have been forgotten.

The moſt natural order of genealogical tables ſeems to be to place the common ſtock at the head of the table, and the ſeveral deſcents, or ſucceeding generations, each in a lower line appropriated to it; and not to make the order of generations proceed from the left hand to the right, as is done by ſome. But every diſtinct

diſtinct generation ſhould by all means be placed in a line, or ſpace, appropriated to itſelf: otherwiſe, our ideas will be greatly confuſed. The *order* of *birth* in the ſame generation may eaſily be obſerved (as is done in ſome of our beſt tables) by placing the firſt-born to the left hand in the table, and the reſt, according to the order of birth, to the right.

There are a variety of other relations, beſides mere natural deſcent, which it is very uſeful to have a clear idea of, as the connexion by marriage, by adoption among the Romans, &c. by which different families are intermixed. And it is poſſible, by different kinds of lines, joining the names ſo connected, how remote ſoever, in the table of generation, to expreſs all theſe relations, without the uſe of words. But as the attempt to expreſs them all by characters disfigures the table with a great variety of lines, many of them of conſiderable length, and extending themſelves in every direction, it ſeems moſt convenient to expreſs *natural deſcent* only by characters, and to ſubjoin to each name an account, in words, of all its other connexions, referring at moſt from one to another by *marks* contrived for that purpoſe. This me-

thod Rapin has taken in the excellent genealogical tables in his hiſtory of England.

Some valuable tables of genealogy may be ſeen at the end of *Petavius's Chronology*; but the largeſt and moſt complete body of genealogies is that publiſhed by *Anderſon*; which, in one large volume folio, contains all the genealogies he could collect from the whole body of hiſtory, ancient and modern. It comes, however, no lower than to A. D. 1732, and it is too much crowded with hiſtory, which gives it a confuſed appearance. The tables of Mr. *Betham* are in this and other reſpects a great improvement on thoſe of Mr. Anderſon, and come to A. D. 1795.

LECTURE XVIII.

Chart of Hiſtory. Chart of Biography. Grey's Memoria Technica. The Method of a Common-Place Book for the Purpoſe of Hiſtory.

THE moſt ingenious and uſeful contrivance to facilitate the ſtudy of hiſtory, and to aid the imagination in conceiving diſtinctly, and comprehending the whole courſe of it, in all its

its parts, co-exiſtent and ſucceſſive, is the *chart of hiſtory* lately imported from France. This is properly a picture of all hiſtory, and is made by ſuch natural methods of expreſſion, that it renders viſible to the eye, without reading, the whole figure and dimenſions of all hiſtory, general and particular; and ſo perfectly ſhows the origin, progreſs, extent, and duration, of all kingdoms and ſtates that ever exiſted, at one view, with every circumſtance of time and place, uniting chronology and geography, that it not only, in the moſt agreeable manner, refreſhes the memory, without the fatigue of reading; but a novice in hiſtory may learn more from it by a mere attentive inſpection of a few hours, than he can acquire by the reading of many weeks or months.

This chart will not, indeed, give a perſon the knowledge of any thing that paſſed *within* a kingdom, and which produced no actual alteration in the extent of its territories, or of the manner in which conqueſts were made or loſt. But a perſon may by the help of it gain a clearer idea *when*, and *by what nations* conqueſts were made, how far they extended, and how long they continued, than he could ever get by reading.

It is obvious to remark, that this chart muſt

anſwer, in the completeſt manner imaginable, almoſt every uſe of a compendium of hiſtory, proper to be read before a larger and fuller courſe be entered upon; and it will prevent any confuſion which might ariſe from reading particular hiſtories without a regard to their proper order of time or place, better than any abſtract of univerſal hiſtory whatever. For it is but caſting our eye for a minute upon this chart, and we ſee, at one glance, the contemporary ſtate of the whole world at the period of which we are reading, and the preceding and ſucceeding ſtate of the particular country, the hiſtory of which we are ſtudying.

It is an inconvenience in this particular chart that *different ſcales* are made uſe of to repreſent the ſame number of years in different parts of it; ſo that the ſame diſtance, as ſeen by the eye, does not repreſent the ſame portion of time in every part of it. This might eaſily have been obviated by doubling the width of the chart, or at moſt, by omitting the earlier and obſcure part of the hiſtory*.

* Since this was written I have publiſhed *a new Chart of Hiſtory*, in which I have avoided the faults above mentioned, and have introduced ſeveral improvements. It is of the ſame ſize with my *Chart of Biography*, drawn upon the ſame ſcale, and made to correſpond to it in all reſpects. This Chart alſo, as well as that of Biography, is now brought down to A. D. 1800.

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The ſtate of the world with reſpect to the *perſons* who have made the greateſt figure in it, may be exhibited with much more eaſe and advantage by means of *lines* and *ſpace*, than the ſtate of the world even with reſpect to the different powers to which the parts of it have been ſubject. For whereas, in this, regard muſt be had to both the circumſtances of *time* and *place* (not to ſay that, in many caſes, it is not eaſy to determine when territories were really acquired or loſt) with regard to *ſingle lives*, the circumſtance of *time* only is to be taken in.

If, therefore, every man's life be expreſſed by *a line* proportioned to the length of it, and all the lines be adapted to the ſame ſcale, and terminated in their proper places with regard to univerſal time, ſuch *a chart of biography* will exhibit, in the cleareſt manner imaginable, without reading, the entire ſucceſſion of great men in every age and of every profeſſion, with the relative length of their lives. So that if we attend to any period of time, we not only ſee who flouriſhed in it, but how all their ages ſtood with reſpect to one another; whereby we not only ſee who were a man's contemporaries, but alſo how far any of them was before him, or how far after

him, in the order of their births or deaths; which will be of uſe to aſſiſt us in judging of the advantages or diſadvantages they reſpectively lay under with regard to knowledge and inſtruction.

How much more readily, and with how much leſs fatigue of the imagination, lines thus diſpoſed will ſuggeſt the idea of the relative length of men's lives, may be conceived from this circumſtance, that the names of the *numbers* which expreſs the time of a perſon's birth and death, do not ſuggeſt a definite idea of the interval between them, till they be reduced to the idea of *extenſion;* an expedient which, I believe, all perſons naturally and mechanically have recourſe to. Our idea of *time* is always that of a *line*, and a longer or ſhorter ſpace of time is repreſented in our minds by the idea of a longer or ſhorter line; ſo that, in this method, the proceſs of the mind, of reducing intervals of time to lines, is ſuperſeded, and done in a more accurate manner than any perſon could do it in his own mind for himſelf.

Moreover, a biographical chart of this kind, filled with names properly ſelected, in every kind of eminence, will exhibit what ages have abounded moſt with great men, and what were barren of them; and this in a more comprehenſive

henſive and diſtinct manner than can be acquired by reading; a view which cannot fail agreeably to amuſe a ſpeculative mind.

It will be a neceſſary, and remedileſs defect in every chart of this nature, that the time of the death, and eſpecially of the birth of many perſons cannot be found. But then it will be eaſy to contrive proper characters to expreſs the uncertainty there may be with reſpect to either of theſe particulars.

It hardly need be mentioned, that it cannot be expected that ſuch a chart as this ſhould be drawn up according to the real *merit* of the perſons inſerted in it. Beſides, it is a regard to *celebrity* only that can make it of any uſe to a reader of hiſtory. A chart of real merit would, no doubt, be very different from this. Many names which make the greateſt figure in the *tablet of fame* would not be found in that of merit; and again, many names would be ſeen in that of merit, which no perſon who became acquainted with men by fame only, would have any knowledge of *.

In this enumeration of the methods to illuſtrate and retain hiſtory, we muſt by no means forget the ingenious Mr. Grey's *memorial lines*,

* Such a *Chart of Biography* as this I have drawn up and publiſhed, and a ſpecimen of it, and alſo one of the *Chart of Hiſtory*, are given with this work.

of ſuch admirable uſe to recollect *dates* with exactneſs. Of all things, there is the greateſt difficulty in retaining *numbers*. They are like grains of ſand, which will not cohere in the order in which we place them; but by tranſmuting *figures* into *letters*, which eaſily cohere, in every form of combination, we fix and retain numbers in the mind with the ſame eaſe and certainty with which we remember words. Thus when Mr. Grey, in his *Memoria Technica*, annexes a chronological date to the termination of the name, it is only pronouncing it with his variation, and we inſtantly recollect its proper date. For example, if we can remember that Mr. Grey calls Rome *Romput* (which the very oddneſs of the variation will make us leſs liable to forget) ſince he makes (*p*) to ſtand for ſeven, (*u*) for five, and (*t*) for three, we immediately recollect, that ſeven hundred and fifty-three before Chriſt is the date uſually aſſigned to the building of Rome. If, moreover, we can learn to repeat the names of kings in the order in which he has digeſted them (which his verſes, rough as they are, make it pretty eaſy to do) we ſhall have not only the years when each of them began their reigns, but alſo the order of their ſucceſſion.

As this method is ſo eaſily learned, and may

may be of ſo much uſe in recollecting dates, when other methods are not at hand, particularly in converſation upon the ſubject of hiſtory, when dates are often wanted, I think all perſons of a liberal education inexcuſable, who will not take the ſmall degree of pains that is neceſſary to make themſelves maſters of it; or who think any thing mean, or unworthy of their notice, which is ſo uſeful and convenient.

Mr. Grey's attempt to apply this method to the numbers which occur in aſtronomy, tables of weights and meaſures, &c. is likewiſe extremely uſeful; but his application of it to geography is unnatural and uſeleſs.

In order to ſecure the moſt valuable fruits of hiſtory, it is abſolutely neceſſary that they be repoſited in a *common-place book*. For the memory of no perſon whatever, who reads much hiſtory, is ſufficient to retain all he reads, or even the moſt valuable part of it. The eaſieſt method I can direct you to for making a common-place book for this purpoſe is the following. Whenever you meet with any fact which you wiſh to preſerve, put it down under ſome general head, as *religion*, *government*, *commerce*, *war*, *&c.* reſerving every two oppoſite pages in your book for one of theſe

theſe heads, and note it in a ſeparate place at the end, or beginning of the book, with the page in which it may be found; and when any two pages are filled, either open two other pages with the ſame title; or, if you perceive that the title you firſt began with was too comprehenſive, divide it into whatever parts you think moſt convenient. If theſe titles ſhould grow ſo numerous as that any of them cannot eaſily be found in the promiſcuous manner in which they were firſt ſet down, it will be eaſy, at any time, to reduce them to the order of the alphabet, in another page; and the former, which will then be ſuperfluous, may be cancelled.

N. B. *Let the perſon who gives this Lecture and the preceding, come to his claſs prepared to exhibit the different* TABLES, *&c. explained, or mentioned in it.*

LECTURE XIX.

*The Terms of Fortification explained, by the Help of a Model of all its Varieties cut in Wood; to enable young Gentlemen to underſtand Modern Hiſtory, and the News-Papers, and to judge of the Progreſs of a Siege.**

LECTURE XX.

A regular Progreſs in Hiſtory pleaſing. The Order in which ancient general Hiſtories may moſt conveniently be read, ſo as to make them one continued Series of Hiſtory; together with the Character of the Hiſtorians as they are mentioned, and an Account of thoſe Paſſages in other Authors which may ſerve to enlarge the Hiſtory of the ſeveral Periods of which they treat. Of Herodotus.

As a regular progreſſion in any thing is generally agreeable; and we are carried along the courſe of hiſtory (to uſe a metaphor) with more pleaſure, when we go uniformly with

* My cuſtom was to explain the *model*, without having any thing written to read on the ſubject. The terms belonging to the art of *Fortification* are eaſily learned from books.

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the *current of time*, and are not carried backward and forward, in the courſe of our reading; I ſhall for the ſake of thoſe who have opportunity and leiſure to go to the ſources of ancient hiſtory, give, from *Wheare's Lectures on Hiſtory*, publiſhed by Bohun, a method in which the principal authors of antiquity may be read, ſo as to collect from them a pretty regular ſeries of facts, which will compriſe the hiſtory of Aſia, Africa, Greece, and Rome, till the diſſolution of the empire of Conſtantinople. And, for the ſake of thoſe who do not chooſe to depend on *compilers* for the hiſtory of their own country, I ſhall likewiſe name the original authors of the Engliſh hiſtory in the order in which they may be read, according to the time of which they treat.

I ſhall alſo take this opportunity of noting a few of the moſt neceſſary obſervations on the characters of the principal hiſtorians; and to the accounts of each author in the regular ſeries of the ancient hiſtorians, I ſhall ſubjoin an account of thoſe other authors, and paſſages of other hiſtorians, which may be of uſe to enlarge and complete the hiſtory of the period he treats of; that any perſon may either read the principal authors only, which follow one another, in the order of time, or may,

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as he has opportunity, get a fuller and more ſatisfactory knowledge from the other authors of any particular period before he proceeds to another. I ſhall alſo carefully diſtinguiſh the ſubjects of every hiſtory, and the period of time in which it falls, compared with the time in which the author lived, as one circumſtance proper to be taken into conſideration in judging of the credibility of any hiſtorian.

As the hiſtories of Greece and Rome have little or no connexion till the final conqueſt of Greece by the Romans, I ſhall often depart from the ſtrict order of time, not to interrupt the order of reading the Grecian and Aſiatic hiſtory by a regard to the contemporary hiſtory of Rome, but begin the Roman hiſtory after the conqueſt of Greece.

The oldeſt hiſtory extant, next to the hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament, is that of *Heredotus* of Halicarnaſſus, who flouriſhed about four hundred and fifty years before the chriſtian æra, a little after the invaſion of Greece by Xerxes. His hiſtory compriſes probably every thing he had an opportunity of learning concerning the hiſtory of the Lydians, Ionians, Lycians, Egyptians, Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians. Computing from the

the earlieſt of his accounts to the lateſt, his hiſtory may be reckoned to commence about ſeven hundred and thirteen years before Chriſt, and to reach to about the year 479 before Chriſt; a period of about two hundred and thirty-four years.

This author was never charged with partiality except by Plutarch with regard to the Bœotians only, which is not worth our notice, ſince the Bœotians were Plutarch's countrymen, and he could not bear that any reflection, though ever ſo juſt, ſhould be caſt upon them. But he is generally thought to be too fond of the marvellous. It is certain that he has inſerted many fabulous things in his hiſtory, though very often with ſufficient intimations of his own diſbelief, or ſuſpicion of them. And it is an argument greatly in favour of this ancient writer, that his chronology requires leſs correction, according to Newton's canons, than that of any ſubſequent Greek hiſtorian. The greateſt inconvenience attending the reading of him ariſes from his *method*, which is the moſt irregular and digreſſive that can be conceived; ſome entire hiſtories coming in as it were by way of *parentheſis* in the bodies of others. But with all his faults he is a moſt pleaſing writer.

A more

A more particular account of ſeveral things in the period of which Heredotus treats may be extracted from the following authors. Juſtin, book i. ii. iii. and vii. Xenophon's Cyropædia. The lives of Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, Cimon, Miltiades, and Pauſanias, written by Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos. And thoſe of Anaximander, Zeno, Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Democritus, by Diogenes Laertius.

LECTURE XXI.

Of Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, Juſtin, Plutarch, and Cornelius Nepos.

NEXT to Herodotus, *Thucydides* is to be read. He propoſed to write the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war; but introductory to this, his principal and profeſſed ſubject, he gives a ſummary view of the hiſtory of Greece from the departure of Xerxes to the commencement of that war, which connects his hiſtory with that of Herodotus. His hiſtory, however, reaches no farther than the twenty-firſt year of the Peloponneſian war.

Thucydides was an Athenian, and employed by his country in ſome command in the

the war of which he treats; but not being crowned with ſucceſs in an undertaking to which the forces he was entruſted with were not equal, he was deprived of his command by that inconſtant people, and obliged to take refuge among the Lacedæmonians.

It is impoſſible to diſcover any marks of partiality in this writer, notwithſtanding we cannot read him without making ourſelves a party with the Athenians. There is all the appearance imaginable of the ſtricteſt fidelity, and the moſt punctual adherence to truth in his hiſtory; notwithſtanding he was probably the firſt hiſtorian who introduced the unnatural cuſtom of putting rhetorical and fictitious harangues into the mouths of his principal actors. For the ſpeeches which occur in Herodotus, who wrote before him, are more like converſation than formal harangues, and compared with theſe deſerve not the name of *ſpeeches*.

The exactneſs of Thucydides, in obſerving chronological order, in his hiſtory of the events of a very various and complex ſcene of actions, obliges him to interrupt the thread of his narration in a method that is very painful and diſagreeable to a reader. But notwithſtanding this, his hiſtory is extremely intereſting.

To

To complete the period of the hiſtory of which Thucydides treats, after his firſt book let the eleventh and twelfth of Diodorus Siculus be read, together with Plutarch's Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Pauſanias and Cimon, and the ſecond and third books of Juſtin. And after the whole of Thucydides read the lives of Alcibiades, Chabrias, Thraſybulus, and Lyſias, written by Plutarch or Cornelius Nepos, the fourth and fifth books of Juſtin, and the firſt book of Oroſius.

Next to Thucydides, let the firſt and ſecond books of *Xenophon's Hiſtory of Greece* be read. This completes the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, with the contemporary affairs of the Medes and Perſians. After this let him proceed to the *expedition of Cyrus*, and the return of the Greeks; and laſtly, the remainder of his hiſtory of Greece, which contains an account of the affairs of the Greeks and Perſians to the battle of Mantinæa, which happened in the year 363 before Chriſt; ſo that all the hiſtorical books of Xenophon comprize a period of about forty-eight years.

Xenophon's hiſtory is properly that of his own times, and as he was the firſt general and philoſopher, as well as beſt hiſtorian of his age, he had the beſt opportunity of being

acquainted with, and the beſt capacity of judging of, every thing of which he writes. With regard to his country, he was in circumſtances very ſimilar to thoſe of Thucydides, and he appears to be equally impartial. But he is much happier in the ſimplicity, as well as true elegance, of his ſtyle and manner. He ſeems to keep a medium between the looſe excurſive manner of Herodotus, and the extreme rigour of Thucydides, whoſe formal harangues he has likewiſe, in a great meaſure, dropped. But a barrenneſs of remarkable events in the hiſtory of Greece of which he treats, as well as the mangled ſtate in which his works have come down to us, makes his hiſtory leſs engaging, and I believe leſs generally read, than either of the forementioned authors. But his *Anabaſis*, in which he relates the adventures of a body of ten thouſand Greeks, under his own command, in their return to Greece from the very heart of the Perſian empire, is highly engaging. As for his hiſtory of *Cyrus the Elder*, it has all the appearance of being compoſed with a view to exhibit the moſt perfect idea he could conceive of an accompliſhed prince, both with reſpect to the arts of peace and war.

To complete the hiſtory of all that period

of

of which Xenophon treats, read the lives of Lyſander, Ageſilaus, Artaxerxes, Thraſybulus, Chabrias, Conon, and Datames, written by Plutarch, or Cornelius Nepos; the fourth, and fifth books of Juſtin, and the thirteenth, fourteenth, and part of the fifteenth of Diodorus Siculus.

After Xenophon's works read the remainder of the fifteenth, and the ſixteenth book of *Diodorus Siculus*, which contain the hiſtories of Greece and Perſia from the battle of Mantinæa to the beginning of the reign of Alexander the Great, in the year 336 before Chriſt.

Diodorus flouriſhed in the time of Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus. He ſpared no pains, or expence, in reading or travelling, to collect materials for an univerſal hiſtory, from the earlieſt account of things to his own times; and the ſmall remains we have of it bear ſufficient marks of his great labour and fidelity. But the merit of that part of his immenſe and valuable work which has come down to us, is that of a faithful compiler. For all the laſt books of his hiſtory are, in all probability, irrecoverably loſt; though there are ſome who pretend that they ſtill may be extant in ſome obſcure part of Sicily. Of forty books, of which the entire work conſiſted, the firſt five,

which bring the hiſtory of the world to the Trojan war, are entire. The next five are wanting; but from the eleventh to the twentieth incluſive, the work is complete. The hiſtory of thoſe two books of Diodorus will be more complete by reading the lives of Chabrias, Dion, Ephicrates, Timotheus, Phocion and Timoleon, written by Cornelius Nepos.

After theſe two books of Diodorus Siculus, read Arrian's hiſtory of Alexander. To make this hiſtory more complete read alſo Quintus Curtius, the tenth and eleventh books of Juſtin, and Plutarch's life of Alexander.

As great an encourager as Alexander the Great was of learned men, in an age which abounded with them, he has been ſo unfortunate, that none of the many hiſtories of his exploits which were written by his contemporaries have reached our times; a misfortune which, it is remarkable, he ſhares in common with Auguſtus and Trajan, who were nearly in the ſame circumſtances. The oldeſt of the hiſtories of Alexander now extant are thoſe of Quintus Curtius, and Arrian, who lived four hundred years after his death. The hiſtory of Arrian is an evident, and in all appearance, a faithful compilation from authors of the beſt authority, and who lived neareſt the

the times of Alexander; particularly from the commentaries of Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy Lagus. He has ſo happily ſucceeded in a ſtudied imitation of the ſtyle and manner of Xenophon, that he is often called the young Xenophon. There is alſo extant an hiſtory of India by this author. The leaſt praiſe of Arrian, is that of an hiſtorian. His *Enchiridion*, which is a compendium of Epictetus's philoſophy, has ever been acknowledged to be the moſt beautiful piece of ancient heathen morality.

The hiſtory of *Quintus Curtius* is, upon the whole, an agreeable performance; but there appears to be too great a diſplay of oratory, an affectation of fine thoughts, ſhining expreſſions, and eloquent ſpeeches upon every occaſion, to make it thoroughly ſatisfactory as a hiſtory.

After Arrian read the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth books of Diodorus Siculus, which contain the hiſtory of Greece from the year 323 before Chriſt to the year 301; and to complete this period read alſo the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth books of Juſtin, and the Demetrius and Eumenes of Plutarch.

After the above-mentioned books of Diodorus,

read from the ſixteenth to the twenty-ninth book incluſive of *Juſtin*, which brings down the hiſtory to about the year 195 before Chriſt. Juſtin lived under Antoninus Pius about the year 150 after Chriſt. His hiſtory is only an *abridgment*, and as it were the *contents* of what muſt have been an immenſe and valuable work of *Trogus Pompeius;* being a complete univerſal hiſtory, from the earlieſt account of things to his own time, which was that of Auguſtus. Juſtin has drawn up his compendium with a great deal of propriety and elegance, and it is a very proper book to introduce young perſons to the knowledge of hiſtory.

After the fore-mentioned books of Juſtin, read *Plutarch's lives* of Pyrrhus, Aratus, Agis, Cleomenes and Philopœmen.

The lives of illuſtrious men written by Plutarch, who flouriſhed under the emperor Adrian, about the year 130 after Chriſt, make an excellent ſupplement to univerſal hiſtory. Being more a philoſopher than an hiſtorian, his lives of illuſtrious men conſiſt chiefly of ſuch particular incidents as lead us to form the cleareſt idea of their tempers, characters, and views.

Cornelius Nepos, a writer of the Auguſtan age, who preceded Plutarch nearly in the ſame plan, exhibits an agreeable compendium of the chief

chief tranſactions, and a clear view of the characters, of the principal heroes of ancient times; and, like Plutarch, is alſo uſefully read by way of ſupplement to more regular hiſtories.

To complete the hiſtory contained in thoſe lives of Plutarch, read the fragments of Diodorus.

Laſtly, in the regular order of hiſtory, read the thirtieth book of Juſtin, and all that follow till the two laſt, which completes the hiſtory of Greece, till it mixes with that of the Romans.

All the hiſtories mentioned in this lecture are written in Greek, except thoſe of Juſtin, Quintus Curtius, and Cornelius Nepos, which are in Latin.

LECTURE XXII.

Of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, Livy, Polybius, and Appian.

As the authors of whom an account was given in the preceding lecture contain not only the hiſtory of Greece, but that of all the nations of the world that were known to the hiſtorians; ſo the following courſe of *Roman hiſtory* muſt

likewiſe be conſidered as comprehending all that is now to be learned of the ſubſequent ancient hiſtory of all other nations. Indeed, the connexions of the Romans were ſo extenſive, that a complete hiſtory of their affairs could be nothing elſe than a hiſtory of the world; at leaſt of that part of it which is moſt worth our notice. In reality, we know nothing of the hiſtory of any ancient nations after the eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire, but in conſequence of their connexion with the Romans. The writers of the Roman hiſtory I ſhall give an account of in the order in which they are to be read, without any formal tranſition from one to another.

The writer who treats of the early part of the Roman hiſtory in the fulleſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner, is *Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus*, an excellent rhetorician, as well as hiſtorian. He came to Rome in the reign of Auguſtus, and ſpent twenty-two years there, principally with a view to acquaint himſelf from the ſource of information, with the antiquities and cuſtoms of the Romans. His entire work conſiſted of twenty books, and brought down the hiſtory of Rome as far as the beginning of the firſt Punic war. But, of theſe only the eleven firſt are now extant, and they end at the year of the

the city 412, before Chriſt 341, the time when the conſuls reſumed the chief authority in the Republic after the diſſolution of the decemvirate.

This writer was furniſhed with all the lights that could be procured to conduct him through his undertaking, having the aſſiſtance of the moſt learned and eminent of the Romans in every thing in which they could be ſerviceable to him; and he is generally thought to have made the moſt of the authorities he could procure, in the great ſcarcity of ancient records which we have before obſerved to have been at Rome. But what we are moſt indebted to Dionyſius for, is the deſcription he has given of the manners, cuſtoms, and laws of the Romans, as obſerved by himſelf, and which no Roman writers have mentioned. Indeed, ſuch particulars as theſe we could not ſo reaſonably expect from a native, writing for the uſe of his countrymen (who muſt have been as well acquainted with them as himſelf) as from a foreigner, writing for the uſe of foreigners, to whom every thing of that kind would be new and entertaining.

Notwithſtanding Dionyſius lived in an enlightened age, and he ſeems deſirous to tranſmit nothing but well atteſted facts, he has not eſcaped the charge of the moſt egregious credulity

dulity in his account of ſome of the prodigies, with which all the Roman hiſtories abound, particularly when he tells us, that, by the command of Nævius Actius the Augur, a razor cut a whetſtone; that Caſtor and Pollux fought in perſon for the Romans againſt the Latins; that two rivers turned their courſe to favour the inhabitants of Cumæ; and that a ſtatue of fortune ſpoke certain words twice over.

The ſtyle of this author, though his language be truly Attic, does not quite anſwer the expectations he naturally raiſes by his criticiſms on the ſtyle of other hiſtorians, and his rules for the proper ſtyle of hiſtory. For though his Attic phraſes are allowed to be elegant, the beſt critics complain of a ſingularity, and a particular roughneſs, in the general turn of his ſentences.

To complete the hiſtory of the period of which Dionyſius treats, read Livy, book I. II. and III. Plutarch's Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Valerius Poplicola, Coriolanus, and Camillus.

After Dionyſius, read from the fourth to the tenth book incluſive, of Livy, which brings the hiſtory of Rome to the 451 of the building of the city, and 292 before Chriſt.

Livy was a native of Padua, but upon undertaking

dertaking to write the Roman hiſtory (a work in which he was wholly employed for more than twenty-two years) he came, in the reign of Auguſtus, to live at Rome, for the convenience of having recourſe to the moſt proper materials for his work, particularly thoſe records which were preſerved in the Capitol; and having collected every thing which he thought to his purpoſe, he retired to Naples, that he might proſecute his ſtudies without interruption.

All the time he was engaged in this work he lived a retired ſedentary life. But though we never read either of his having ever travelled, or being employed in any command in the army, or any other department of public buſineſs, it is remarkable that this defect is not perceived in his hiſtory. His deſcription of places is as exact, as if he had viſited them himſelf; and he deſcribes a ſiege, and the arrangement of an army, with the greateſt propriety and judgment. It is not improbable but he might be aſſiſted in thoſe parts of his work by perſons who were better acquainted with the ſubjects of them than he himſelf could be. When he was at Rome, he enjoyed the favour of Auguſtus, who gave him every opportunity of furniſhing himſelf with the knowledge neceſſary to his deſign.

The

The entire work of Livy conſiſted of one hundred and forty-two books; but of theſe only thirty-five are left, viz. the firſt, the third, the fourth, and half of the fifth decad; but the epitome of them all by another hand is extant.

All the ancients are unanimous in giving the moſt ample teſtimony to the noble and generous impartiality of this writer; who, though he lived in the reign of Auguſtus, had the courage to do juſtice to the characters of Pompey, Cicero, Brutus, and Caſſius. But, probably with a view to add to the ſolemnity of his hiſtory, he takes every opportunity of inſerting accounts of omens and prodigies, and ſome, as they appear to us of the loweſt and moſt ridiculous nature. Indeed, with reſpect both to the materials of his hiſtory, and the ſtyle and manner of compoſition, Livy ſeems to have ſtudied grandeur and magnificence. With all the marks of real modeſty, and greatneſs of mind, he every where preſerves an uniform energy and majeſty of ſtyle, to which the length and fulneſs of his periods does not a little contribute; and every part is as elaborate and highly finiſhed as poſſible.

To ſupply the chaſm between the tenth and

and twentieth books of Livy, read *Polybius*, particularly books firſt and ſecond, which treat chiefly of the firſt Punic war; the epitome of the ſecond decad of Livy, Juſtin, book ſeventeenth, eighteenth, twenty-ſecond, and twenty-third, fourteen chapters of the fourth book of Oroſius, the fourth and fifth of the third book of the *hiſtoria miſcellanea* of Paulus Diaconus, Plutarch's Marcellus, and Fabius Maximus; the ſecond tome of the annals of Zonaras, and Appian's Punic and Illyrian wars.

Polybius was an Arcadian. He flouriſhed in the year 216 before Chriſt, and was of the firſt note in his age as a ſoldier, ſtateſman, and philoſopher. He came to Rome on an embaſſy, and there became very intimate with Scipio Africanus the younger, and Lælius, whoſe inſeparable companion he was in all their expeditions.

His hiſtory conſiſted originally of forty books, of which the eighth part only is remaining to us entire, and comprehends a ſpace of fifty-three years, the greateſt part of it employed in the hiſtory of thoſe events of which he was an eye witneſs, and in the conduct of which he had a conſiderable ſhare.

The pains which this writer took to inform himſelf

himſelf of the things and places of which he writes was prodigious. He croſſed the Alps, and traverſed one part of Gaul, on purpoſe to repreſent truly Hannibal's paſſage in Italy; and fearing to omit the leaſt circumſtance of Scipio's actions, he travelled all over Spain, and ſtopped particularly at New Carthage, that he might carefully ſtudy the ſituation of it; and even uſed Scipio's authority to procure veſſels to ſail upon the Atlantic ocean, with ſome view to the hiſtory he was writing. He learned the Roman tongue, and obtained a perfect knowledge of their laws, their rites, their cuſtoms, and antiquities; and having gained permiſſion from the ſenate to ſearch the Capitol, he made himſelf familiar with their records, and tranſlated them into his mother-tongue.

However, though in a perfect acquaintance with his ſubject, and eſpecially as a judge of every thing relating to it, he was ſuperior to almoſt all other ancient hiſtorians, he is inferior to moſt of them in point of eloquence; and it appears not to have been without juſtice that Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus calls him unpolite, and reproaches him with negligence, both in the choice of his words, and the ſtructure of his periods. His obſervations and

reflections

reflections (which frequently interrupt the courſe of his narration, and take up great part of his work) appear tedious to thoſe who are impatient to go on with the hiſtory, but are univerſally admired by the thoughtful and judicious.

Oroſius was a Chriſtian preſbyter, who flouriſhed about A. D. 416, and wrote ſeven books of hiſtory againſt the Pagans.

Appian was deſcended from one of the chief families of Alexandria. He came to Rome in the time of the emperor Trajan, where he practiſed the law, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much as a pleader, that he was advanced to ſome office in the government; and by the ſucceeding emperors Adrian and Antoninus Pius, to the higheſt dignities of the empire.

Of the many works which he compoſed, there remain at this time but the leaſt part, viz. his hiſtory of the Punic, Syrian, Parthian, Mithridatic, and Spaniſh wars, the fifth book of the civil wars, and thoſe of Illyricum.

Whatever reflection it may be upon him as a man, it ought to be no objection with us to the hiſtory of Appian, that he has been ſuſpected of copying a good deal from the Commentaries of Auguſtus, and other writers whoſe

whoſe works are now loſt; and this circumſtance may have occaſioned ſome little inequality in his ſtyle. This, however, is only what ſome critics pretend to have obſerved, and his ſtyle is allowed to be, upon the whole, very plain and ſuited to his ſubject. His method of preſerving the tranſactions of every particular country diſtinct from thoſe of every other is thought to have ſome advantages, and he is allowed to be particularly happy in his deſcriptions of battles, and in every reſpect to have given the greateſt proof of his knowledge in the art of war.

After Appian, ſhould be read the remainder of Livy, from the twenty-firſt book to the end, which brings the hiſtory to the year of the city 587, before Chriſt 166, and the epitome of Livy to the end.

To complete the laſt books of Livy, read Plutarch's Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, Quintus Flamininus, Paulus Æmilius, and Cato Major. After this read his Gracchi, Marius, Sylla, Cato Minor, Sartorius, Lucullus, Pompey, and Brutus.

LECTURE XXIII.

Of Salluſt, Cæſar, Hirtius, Dio Caſſius, Paterculus, Suetonius, and Tacitus.

THE reader of hiſtory muſt now proceed to *Salluſt*'s hiſtory of the war of Jugurtha, which happened one hundred years before Chriſt, and of the conſpiracy of Catiline, which happened ſixty-two years before Chriſt.

Salluſt was a Roman, deſcended of a family which had long made a figure in the equeſtrian order. He was a man of profligate morals, and the early part of his life was ſpent in the purſuits of ambition; but not ſucceeding in his attempts to be a leading man in the government of the ſtate, he retired with a diſcontent which ſhows itſelf, both in the general ſeverity of his language, and his frequent keen invectives againſt the times in which he lived. He was a great enemy of Cicero (whoſe wife Terentia he married after Cicero had divorced her) and the friend of Cæſar, who was a great admirer of him. By Cæſar he was entruſted with the command of ſome forces, and a province, in which, by his exceſſive rapaciouſneſs, he grew ſo rich, that, upon his return, he purchaſed one of

the nobleſt manſions in Rome, which to this day is called the gardens of Salluſt.

The hiſtory of the war of Jugurtha, and of the Catilinarian conſpiracy are all that we have left of this hiſtorian. Nothing at all is left of that excellent hiſtory which procured him the title of *the prince of hiſtorians*, except four orations and two epiſtles, collected by the ancient grammarians.

It is remarkable that, notwithſtanding the profligacy of this writer's morals, and his particular attachments in life, thoſe things ſeem to have laid no bias upon him as a writer. He does juſtice both to Cicero and Cæſar in his hiſtory of the Catilinarian conſpiracy; and he is ſaid to have taken uncommon pains to get well informed in the particulars of his hiſtory. With regard to the Punic wars in particular, we are told that he not only examined the memoirs and writings of thoſe countries, but viſited many places in perſon, to avoid miſtakes in his deſcriptions.

Salluſt falls far ſhort of the majeſty of Livy, but he is remarkably happy in a peculiar conciſeneſs, fulneſs and energy of expreſſion, for which he is ſaid to have particularly ſtudied Thucydides. His harangues are extremely elaborate, but much too long in proportion to the

the hiſtory, and they have every appearance of being purpoſely introduced to ſhow his own eloquence on a variety of occaſions.

A fondneſs for theſe ſet declamations has ſtrangely ſeized almoſt all the hiſtorians of antiquity who are famous for their ſtyle and manner of compoſition. It may perhaps be, in part, accounted for by conſidering that they were almoſt all educated pleaders; and that propriety of addreſs on every occaſion was ſo much ſtudied by the Romans, that it was the conſtant exerciſe of youth at ſchools, as we learn from Juvenal, to make ſpeeches for the heroes of hiſtory; and one great and happy example would occaſion many imitations of that unnatural manner. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that they tend to make hiſtory much more intereſting, by obliging the reader to dwell longer on the ſtate of things in important ſituations.

Julius Cæſar's Commentaries of his own wars, and the ſupplements by Hirtius and others.

Julius Cæſar was a man who, by the arts of popularity, acquired great aſcendancy over the people at Rome. Being entruſted with the command of an army in Gaul, he reduced all that country into ſubjection to the Romans, and by the ſame good fortune, and his

own excellent conduct, he made himſelf maſter of the commonwealth; but fell a ſacrifice to the ſpirit of liberty, which was not yet ſufficiently quelled in that brave and high ſpirited people.

The title of Cæſar's *Commentaries* does not promiſe a regular and complete hiſtory of the wars of which they treat. But ſo maſterly is the performance, that none of the ancients ever attempted to improve upon them. Though Cæſar is the hero of his own hiſtory, he always ſpeaks of himſelf in the third perſon; and he gives an account of the prodigious ſucceſs he met with, with the greateſt delicacy, and with as much coolneſs and impartiality, as if he were writing the hiſtory of any other perſon.

In this Cæſar exactly reſembles Xenophon. Indeed, there are few perſons whoſe circumſtances, and manner of writing, admit of a nearer compariſon. They have the ſame advantage in the clearneſs of their deſcriptions of things relating to war from having been generals themſelves. They have the ſame ſimplicity and eaſe in their ſtyle, and both are equally ſparing in introducing ſet ſpeeches. Of the two, Cæſar keeps nearer to nature and probability in this reſpect. Perhaps he might

chooſe

chooſe to ſtyle his work *Commentaries*, rather than lay himſelf under a kind of neceſſity of ſwelling a regular *hiſtory*, with ornaments ſo unſuitable to a work which ought to be the exact copy of truth and real life.

Hirtius, who wrote ſome of the books which are generally joined with Cæſar, was a man intimately acquainted with the tranſactions of thoſe times. After the death of Cæſar he was made conſul, and together with his colleague Panſa died glorioufly at the battle of Mutina, fighting againſt Antony. His ſtyle, and manner of compoſition, as well as the ſubject of his hiſtory, juſtly entitle him to a place next to Cæſar. The other pieces commonly annexed to Cæſar are greatly inferior to theſe.

To obtain a clear idea of the hiſtory of this important period of time, *Cicero's epiſtles*, eſpecially thoſe to Atticus, ought by no means to be overlooked. Cicero ſeldom departed from Rome, and was a principal actor in all the great affairs tranſacted in his time; of which he writes almoſt an uninterrupted account to his friend Atticus, who lived a retired life, remote from all affairs of ſtate. So great is the frankneſs of this writer, that we ſee the moſt ſecret motions of his heart, and how he

was affected upon every emergence. He alſo ſhows us, as far as he himſelf was able to penetrate, the hearts of all thoſe men who make ſo great a figure in the hiſtory of thoſe times.

Dio Caſſius was a native of Bithynia, whither alſo he retired to paſs the concluſion of his life, after having been twice conſul at Rome, and been entruſted with the government of ſeveral provinces under Alexander Severus, and ſeveral of the preceding emperors.

His hiſtory compriſed all the time from the building of Rome to the reign of Alexander, which he wrote in eighty books, divided into eight decads, of which few are ſaved from that cataſtrophe which has been fatal to many admirable works of this nature, through the ignorance and incurſions of barbarous nations. At preſent the thirty-fifth book is the firſt of thoſe that remain entire. For we have only ſome fragments of the thirty-fourth. His progreſs to the ſixtieth is complete enough, but inſtead of the laſt twenty we muſt be content with what Xiphilinus, a monk of Conſtantinople, who wrote in the year 1050 after Chriſt, has given us, in a compendium of them. That which we now have of this author, comprehending the events of three hundred

hundred years at leaſt, begins at the time when Lucullus had his great commands, and ends with the death of the emperor Claudius. We are as unfortunate with reſpect to this author as to Livy; ſince the hiſtory of the laſt forty years, of the tranſactions of which he was an eye witneſs, is entirely loſt.

This writer has by no means avoided the charge of partiality, from his favouring the party of Cæſar and Antony, and his invective againſt Pompey and Cicero, particularly the latter, whom he treats in the moſt ſcurrilous and indecent manner; and perhaps it is not ſo much an argument of the prudent conduct of Dio, as of a criminal complaiſance in him, that he could paſs through ſuch dangerous times as thoſe of Commodus, Caracalla and Heliogabalus, without any riſk of his life or fortune. But on the other hand, it is an argument in favour of his character, that he was eſteemed by that excellent prince Alexander Severus, with whom he once had the honour of being conſul, and under whom he publiſhed his hiſtory. This writer, however, has certainly fallen into a greater exceſs of ſuperſtition and credulity with reſpect to prodigies and miracles than Livy. From Livy's

manner of introducing thoſe things it cannot at all be inferred that he believed them. He ſeems rather to have brought them in to add to the ſolemnity and dignity of his hiſtory; but they make a very different appearance in Dio. The ſpeeches of this writer, which take up whole books, are inſufferably tedious; but his ſtyle in general is rather admired than otherwiſe. He was a great imitator of Thucydides, and is not ſo obſcure as he was.

The period of which Dio Caſſius treats will be made more complete by *Velleius Paterculus*, who lived under Tiberius. He was a perſon of noble extraction, and had conſiderable employments in the Roman ſtate. His work is an epitome of the Roman hiſtory to his own times, upon which he is more large; and he tranſmits to us ſeveral particulars which we ſhould not otherwiſe have known. Excepting the groſs flatteries of Tiberius and Sejanus, Paterculus's work is a faithful and elegant compendium of Roman hiſtory; but it is in ſeveral places imperfect. This writer excels in drawing characters; and if his work be thought too rhetorical, it muſt be acknowledged that his rhetoric is more that of the gentleman than of the ſcholar.

Suetonius's

Suetonius's lives of the twelve Cæsars. This author was a Roman born, had been employed in the army, and at the bar in the reign of Trajan; and under Adrian he was for some time what we may call secretary of state; but being obliged to quit his office, on account of some disgust which he had given to his master, he retired, and wrote the history he has left us. Indeed, his work can hardly be called a history; since, without any regard to chronological order, he has only thrown together such incidents in the lives of the twelve Cæsars, as he imagined would reflect the greatest light on their real characters, and has disposed them in an order which he thought best adapted to that purpose.

Suetonius has given us the most undoubted proofs of his diligence, veracity, and freedom, in the execution of his work. He is even thought to have entered too particularly into the detail of some unnatural vices. His expression is very clear, though concise: but no writer requires a greater knowledge of the manners, customs, and antiquities of Rome to make him intelligible; his mention of them and allusions to them are so frequent.

Tacitus's Annals and History. This author was a Roman, who was advanced regularly through

through all the honours of the ſtate, till he was made conſul under Nerva. He wrote annals of the public affairs in ſixteen books, which begin at the death of Auguſtus Cæſar, and continue the ſtory almoſt to the end of Nero. We have but part of them left; viz. the four firſt books, a ſmall part of the fifth, all the ſixth, from the eleventh to the fifteenth, and part of the ſixteenth. The two laſt years of Nero, and part of the foregoing year, are wanting. Theſe are the laſt books of the work. He has left us a *hiſtory* likewiſe, which extends from the beginning of the reign of Galba to the end of that of Domitian. There are alſo extant of this author, one book of the *Manners of the Germans*, and another of the *Life of Agricola*.

Tacitus is a moſt faithful, grave, and ſevere writer. Indeed, the ſubject of his hiſtory exhibits the moſt ſhocking ſpectacle of vice which the annals of mankind can ſhow; in which caſe true hiſtory muſt neceſſarily have all the keenneſs of ſatire. This hiſtory contains a fund of political knowledge, and on that account is very proper to be ſtudied by princes and miniſters of ſtate.

Nothing can be more oppoſite than the ſtyle of Tacitus and that of Cæſar; yet each may be

be called excellent in their kind. Tacitus has not the beautiful ſimplicity and eaſy flow of Cæſar, but his language has equal preciſion and more force. He is not ſo eaſy to be underſtood, but he does not pleaſe leſs when he is underſtood. It is hardly credible that ſo much ſentiment ſhould be crowded into ſo ſmall a compaſs as is done by Tacitus. Cæſar will perhaps have more charms for a young gentleman, but Tacitus will give more ſatisfaction to a perſon of age and experience.

Tacitus is the laſt Roman hiſtorian who is worth reading except barely for the ſake of thoſe *facts* which we have no other method of getting acquainted with. Indeed both Suetonius and Tacitus are generally placed in what is called the *ſilver age* of the Latin tongue; but all the ſucceeding writers are univerſally thrown into the *brazen* or *iron* age. I ſhall, therefore, content myſelf with a ſlighter mention of them, in the order in which they ought to be read, without diſtinguiſhing them into primary and ſecondary writers.

LECTURE XXIV.

Of Aurelius Victor, Herodian, Scriptores Romani, Eutropius, Zozimus, Zonaras, Jornandes, Ammianus Marcellinus, Procopius, Agathias, Nicetas Acominatus, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Johannes Cantacuzenus. Use of Books of Antiquities. Writers who have explained Coins and Inscriptions. Use of a Knowledge of the Civil Law. Of modern Compilations of History. The Universal History. Hooke's Roman History.

THE *lives of Nerva and Trajan written by Aurelius Victor or Xiphilin.*

Aurelius Victor was a person of mean birth, but, on account of his learning and abilities, was advanced by Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, to several considerable employments in the state. Among other works he wrote a history of the Cæsars, from Augustus down to Constantius his patron.

Spartian's Adrian, and Capitolinus's Antoninus.

Herodian. This author was a Greek grammarian of Alexandria in the second century, but he spent most of his time at Rome in the court of the emperors, where he wrote his history.

hiſtory. It conſiſts of eight books, from the death of Antoninus Philoſophus to Balbinus and Pupienus, in the year 238, which is the hiſtory of his own times.

Few authors have ever had a happier or more engaging manner of writing than this. He preſents every ſcene with its cauſes and effects in the cleareſt and eaſieſt point of view; and his ſtyle, without the leaſt appearance of labour, has all the charms of ſimplicity and elegance.

After Herodian muſt be read what has not been already directed to out of the ſix following writers, commonly known by the name of *Scriptores Romani, or Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ ſcriptores*, viz. Spartianus, Lampridius, Capitolinus, Vulcatius, Trebellius Pollio, and Vopiſcus. They are publiſhed altogether by Caſaubon and Salmaſius. They all flouriſhed about the time of Diocleſian, or Conſtantine, and their works are not eaſily diſtinguiſhed from one another. But there is a chaſm in theſe writers, between Gordian III. and Valentinian, which may be ſupplied from Aurelius Victor. By the help of this ſupplement, the above-mentioned writers bring down the hiſtory to the year of the city 1036, of Chriſt 283.

If any perſon would chooſe to ſee an epitome

tome of the Roman hiſtory till about this time; *Eutropius* will furniſh him with a pretty good one in Latin. He was an Italian ſophiſt, and ſecretary to Conſtantine the Great, but more particularly truſted by Julian. By the expreſs order of the emperor Valens he wrote a compendium of the Roman hiſtory to the death of Jovian, in the year of the city 1119, of Chriſt 366. All the writers of the Roman hiſtory from this time are Greek, except Ammianus Marcellinus.

Zozimus wrote the hiſtory of the declenſion of the empire in ſix books, beginning with Auguſtus, giving a fuller account of things from the reign of Diocleſian, and ending with the taking of Rome by the Goths under Alaric. In the firſt book he runs through all the firſt emperors to Diocleſian with great brevity; but in the other five books he gives a larger and fuller account. He lived in the time of Theodoſius the younger, who began his reign in the year 507. Zozimus was a pagan, and therefore very often reflects upon the chriſtian princes; notwithſtanding which, his fidelity is not eaſily to be called in queſtion.

Zonaras wrote a general hiſtory, from the beginning of the world to the death of the emperor Alexius Comnenus in the year 1119, in whoſe

whoſe time he lived. He divided his work into three tomes. In the firſt he gives a brief hiſtory of the world from the creation to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; in the ſecond he writes the Roman hiſtory from the building of Rome to Conſtantine the Great, but very briefly; and in the third tome, he gives an account of the actions of all the chriſtian emperors from Conſtantine the Great to the death of Alexius Comnenus.

This hiſtory and that of Zozimus will be made more complete by *Jornandes*'s hiſtory of the ſucceſſions of kingdoms and times, and his hiſtory of the Goths. He flouriſhed about the year of Chriſt 540. He was himſelf a Goth, or an Alan, and, as he ſays, joined the Gothic hiſtorians with the Greek and Latin writers, in order to compile his hiſtory.

Ammianus Marcellinus flouriſhed in the year of Chriſt 375, and was a ſoldier under Conſtantine and Julian. He wrote thirty-one books from the beginning of Nerva to the death of Valens, in whoſe court he lived: but of thoſe the firſt thirteen have periſhed. In thoſe which are extant he begins with Gallus Cæſar about the year of Chriſt 353, and largely deſcribes the actions and lives of Conſtantius Cæſar, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens.

Valens. He was an eye witneſs of a great part of what he writes, and he brings the hiſtory to the year of Rome 1128, of Chriſt 378.

In the miſcellaneous hiſtory of Paulus Diaconus, beginning with book xii. will be found a complete hiſtory from Valentinian to the depoſition of Michael Curopalates, in the year of Chriſt 812, in which time this author lived.

Procopius flouriſhed in the year 402, and wrote ſeven books of the Perſian, Gothic, and Vandalic wars, undertaken by Juſtinian, and conducted by his general Beliſarius.

Agathias lived about the year of Chriſt 567. He was a lawyer by profeſſion, of Smyrna in Aſia; he wrote five books of the reign and actions of Juſtinian, and begins his hiſtory where Procopius ended. He was a pagan.

If any perſon chooſe to omit theſe laſt mentioned writers, and go on with the third tome of Zonaras, he may paſs on from Zonaras to Nicetas Acominatus, or Choniates, who begins where Zonaras ends, and continues the hiſtory pretty largely for eighty-five years, to the taking of Conſtantinople by Baldwin the Flandrian, in the year of Chriſt 1203. This writer was born at Chonis, a town in Phrygia, from whence he took his name.

After Nicetas, follows Nicephorus Gregoras,

ras, who wrote a hiſtory of one hundred and forty-five years, from Theodorus Laſcares the firſt to the death of Andronicus Paleologus the latter, in the year of Chriſt 1341, about which time he flouriſhed.

But whereas the fidelity of this writer is called in queſtion, particularly his hiſtory of Andronicus Paleologus, it may not be amiſs to take in here Johannes Cantacuzenus, who of an emperor became a monk, and wrote an excellent hiſtory under the title of Chriſtodulus. This royal hiſtorian flouriſhed about the year of Chriſt 1350. His hiſtory conſiſts of ſix books, of which the two firſt treat of the reign of Andronicus, the remaining four of his own reign, and what he did after the death of Andronicus. He was made a monk in the year of Chriſt 1360, when he took the name of Joſaaphus.

The concluſion of the hiſtory of Conſtantinople, with the riſe and progreſs of the Turks, who put an end to it, may be learned from Laonicus Chalchondiles. He begins his hiſtory with Ottoman the ſon of Orthogul, who began to reign about the year of Chriſt 1300. His work conſiſts of ten books, and brings the hiſtory to the year 1453, in which Conſtantinople was taken by Mahomet II.

That you may not be diſappointed in your expectations from thoſe hiſtorians who wrote after the removal of the ſeat of the empire from Rome to Conſtantinople, I muſt inform you that, as from that time the grandeur of the empire began to decline, the bounds of it to be contracted, and conſequently the connexions of the Romans to be leſs extenſive than before; the *Byzantine hiſtorians*, as thoſe writers are called, are very much confined to the affairs of the empire and court of Conſtantinople, which for ſeveral centuries before the final diſſolution of the empire was very inconſiderable. This part therefore of the preceding courſe is by no means to be called *general* hiſtory, as the earlier part of it, but, on the contrary, it is, like it, very much limited and particular.

Of all the modern *compilations*, derived from theſe ſources of hiſtorical knowledge, none are ſo uſeful as thoſe which treat of the manners, cuſtoms, and laws of the Greeks and Romans. The moſt complete body of Greek and Roman antiquities is that which has been collected from the united labours of all the beſt critics and antiquaries by Grævius and Gronovius. But this is an immenſely voluminous work, which few perſons can purchaſe,

chaſe, or peruſe. A perſon may acquire knowledge enough of this kind for the purpoſe of reading the Greek and Latin hiſtorians in Potter's excellent and compendious ſyſtem of Greek antiquities and in Kennet's antiquities of Rome; but without an acquaintance with theſe at leaſt, a perſon will find himſelf greatly at a loſs in reading the courſe, or any part of the courſe, of hiſtory recommended above. The moſt complete body of Roman antiquities is that of Roſinus.

Books which contain collections of coins and inſcriptions ſhould by no means be neglected by a perſon who is deſirous of receiving all the light he can get into the tranſactions of any period of paſt times. The principal collectors of theſe kinds of records are Gruter, Lipſius, Chiſhul, Montfaucon, Prideaux, Mazochius, and Fleetwood, for inſcriptions; and Spanheim, Urſinus, Patin, Vaillant, Hardouin, and Goltzius, for coins.

With regard to the Roman hiſtory, no perſon can be a competent judge of many important things relating to it, who is not verſed in the *civil law*, which contains the hiſtory of the domeſtic policy of that great people. Let every perſon therefore who propoſes to study the Roman history by all means make himſelf

master of *Juſtinian's Inſtitutes* at least, which contain an authentic outline of their policy; and this indeed is ſufficient for the purpoſe of reading their history.

It would be endleſs to enumerate all the modern compilations of ancient history. The moſt complete body of history ancient and modern is the *Univerſal*, and it is the more convenient for the study of history, as the references in it to original authors are very large and particular on every paragraph of it; ſo that it is at least a full index to univerſal history, and furniſhes the reader with the means both of enlarging the story, and correcting any miſtakes the authors may have fallen into. The performance is certainly a very unequal one, with reſpect both to judgment and style, and the chronology of it is various, as might be expected from a work which could not have been completed at all but by a great number of hands. It is to be regretted that the chronological tables adapted to it are drawn up upon the old exploded ſyſtem. But among a few inſtances of inaccuracy, there are numberleſs marks of the greatest labour and impartiality.

Of the compilers of the Roman history in particular, Hooke ſeems far preferable to any other

other in French or Engliſh. He has ſhowed the greateſt ſagacity in tracing the riſe, progreſs, and conduct of that people, and in penetrating into the characters of their principal heroes.

LECTURE XXV.

Of the Method of ſtudying the Engliſh Hiſtory. Original Writers recommended. Gildas. Bede. Nennius. Hoel Dha's Laws. Geoffrey of Monmouth. Caradocus. Roman Writers of Engliſh Affairs. Their Defects how ſupplied. Fulneſs of Engliſh Hiſtory from the Time of Chriſtianity accounted for. Saxon Recorders. Saxon Chronicle. Aſſer Menevenſis. Ethelward. Verſtegan. Sheringham. What Foreign Hiſtories are uſeful to a Knowledge of the Engliſh Affairs in early Times. Of the Daniſh, Iſlandic, German, and Norwegian Antiquities.

As the hiſtory of our own country is both more intereſting to us, and, on every account, of the moſt conſequence for us to be thoroughly acquainted with, I ſhall be more particular in my directions to acquire a thorough knowledge of it than I have been with reſpect to

ancient history.* To do this in as complete a manner as the bounds of my deſign will admit, I ſhall firſt deduce a regular ſeries of *hiſtorians*, from the earlieſt account of our nation to what may be called our own times, and then give ſome account of the *records* which our country affords of a different nature, but which a careful hiſtorian ought to avail himſelf of, and alſo of the places where it is ſaid ſuch records are to be met with. A great part of what I ſhall advance upon this laſt head in particular will be extracted from *Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, to which I would refer thoſe perſons who are deſirous of farther information with reſpect to the ſubject of this Lecture. I ſhall however ſo far depart from his method as to give all I have to ſay concerning the Britons, Saxons, and all the earlier part of our hiſtory, by itſelf.

Imperfect as what I have collected on this ſubject may be, it will at leaſt ſuffice to give you an idea of what care, labour, and ſagacity, are neceſſary to compile a good hiſtory of our country, from the vaſt variety of materials which it affords for that purpoſe; which

* This is ſufficiently applicable to the people of the United States of America, who are chiefly deſcended from the Engliſh, and have ſtill the greateſt natural connexion with them.

will

will make us more ſenſible of the obligations we are under to thoſe diligent hiſtorians and antiquarians who have taken the pains requiſite for that purpoſe, and increaſe our contempt for thoſe writers, who, without ſtirring from their cloſets, or peruſing one ancient original author, aſſume the name of *hiſtorians*, and publiſh pompous accounts of their works; when they have done nothing more than republiſh, in a new, and perhaps no better form, the information that had been collected by others. Of theſe ſecond and third hand compilers no nation perhaps furniſhes a greater number than our own. If ſuch works be recommended by greater ſymmetry in the arrangement of their parts, and a better ſtyle and manner of compoſition, it cannot be denied but that the authors of them have their merit; but then it is a merit of a different kind from that of the laborious inveſtigators of hiſtorical truth, and ought not to be confounded with it.

I muſt admoniſh you, however, that you muſt not promiſe yourſelves much entertainment from the language and ſtyle of the original hiſtorians of our nation. The bulk of our ancient hiſtories are only to be conſidered as repoſitories of facts. It has only been of late

years that history has been written with the leaſt degree of elegance by the natives of this country; and even now we can ſhow but very few maſterly compoſitions of this kind; perhaps none which have united with the merit of writers that of diligent inveſtigators of hiſtorical truth. Indeed, theſe qualifications in modern times are rarely united, though in ancient times they often were.

The moſt ancient Britiſh historian now extant is *Gildas*. He was a monk of Bangor about the middle of the ſixth century, a ſorrowful ſpectator of the miſeries, and almoſt utter ruin, of his countrymen the Britons, by a people under whoſe banners they expected protection and peace. His lamentable history *De excidio Britanniæ* is all that is printed of his writing, and perhaps all that is any where extant.

Contemporary with Gildas was *Bede*, who was a Saxon; and though his history of the Engliſh nation is chiefly eccleſiaſtical, he has intermixed ſeveral particulars of the civil state of the Britons and Saxons.

The next Britiſh historian of note is *Nennius*, a monk, who flouriſhed in the year 830. He is ſaid to have left behind him ſeveral treatiſes, whereof all that is publiſhed is his *Hiſtoria Britonum*.

The

The next remains of the Britons, are *Hoel Dha's Laws*, which were enacted about the middle of the tenth century. Of theſe there are ſeveral copies, both in Welch and Latin, ſtill extant; among which is a very old one, written on parchment, in Jeſus College at Oxford.

We are not to expect any ſuch aſſiſtance for aſcertaining the hiſtory of theſe times as after ages afford us from charters, letters patent, &c. It is very doubtful whether thoſe times ever produced ſuch materials for hiſtory; if they did, they have all periſhed. Neither can we expect any aſſiſtance from the medals, or coins, of the ancient Britons. The money uſed here in Cæſar's time was nothing more than iron rings, and ſhapeleſs pieces of braſs; nor does it well appear that their kings did afterwards introduce any of another ſort.

The firſt perſon that attempted the writing of the old Britiſh hiſtory after the conqueſt was *Jeffery*, archdeacon of Monmouth. This author lived under king Stephen, about the year 1150. He ſeems particularly fond of ſtories which have the air of romance, which led him to pitch upon king Arthur's feats of chivalry, and Merlin's prophecies, as proper ſubjects for his pen; but his moſt famous piece

piece is his *Chronicon, ſive hiſtoria Britonum.* In this he has given a genealogy of the kings of Britain from the days of Brutus, the ſuppoſed ſon of Æneas, containing a catalogue of above ſeventy monarchs, who reigned in this iſland before Julius Cæſar landed in it. The firſt ſtone of this fabric was laid by Nennius, but the ſuperſtructure is this author's own. Notwithſtanding this author has not been without his advocates, particularly the famous J. Leland, his hiſtory is now univerſally regarded in no other light than that of a romance.

Contemporary with this Jeffery was Caradocus, a monk of Lancarvan, who wrote a hiſtory of the petty kings of Wales after they were driven into that corner of the iſland by the Saxons. This hiſtory, which was written originally in Latin, and brought as low as the year 1156 by its author, was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, by Humphry Lluid, and englarged and publiſhed by Dr. Powel, and again by W. Wyn, with a learned preface.

After king Charles's reſtoration Mr. R. Vaughan, a learned gentleman of Merionethſhire, publiſhed his *Britiſh antiquities revived*, wherein are many curious remarks and diſcoveries. This author was well known to archbiſhop

biſhop Uſher, by whom he was much countenanced and encouraged in theſe ſtudies.

The Roman writers treat of the affairs of this iſland, both antecedent to their conqueſt of it, and during their ſtay in it, only occaſionally. Cæſar may be depended upon for an authentic account of his own expedition, and the manner in which he was received by the natives; but it is certain he could have but little opportunity of being acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of the people, or any thing relating to the internal ſtate of the nation. As the Romans were afterwards better acquainted with the iſland, we have more reaſon to depend upon the little that we find of our hiſtory in Tacitus, Dio Caſſius, Suetonius, Eutropius, and the Scriptores Romani, who may all be ſuppoſed to have had the peruſal of ſuch memorials as were from time to time ſent to the emperors from their lieutenants in this province. A great deal of caution is neceſſary in reading ſome of the laſt-mentioned authors; but their defects are well ſupplied by the famous Mr. Dodwell, in his *Prælectiones Camdenianæ*, which will be highly ſerviceable to all perſons who engage in theſe ſtudies. Tacitus's life of Agricola has all the appearance of being a faithful account of that general's

general's conduct in this iſland. He ſpeaks of the natives with great impartiality.

Many defects in the Roman accounts have been ſupplied by inſcriptions and coins, found in ſeveral parts of our iſland; and there are daily new diſcoveries of both. The Roman commanders in this iſland affected to celebrate their exploits on the reverſes of their coins, whence may be collected ſeveral good illuſtrations of that part of our hiſtory. Thoſe preſerved in Camden's Britannia are very valuable.

We are much more happy with reſpect to the hiſtory of the Saxon times, particularly the end of them, than thoſe preceding. It is remarked by all writers, that there is not in the world a hiſtory leſs obſcure than that of England after the ninth century. Nor can we be at a loſs to account for this, when we are informed by Matthew Paris, that there was a cuſtom in England, that, in each mitred abbey of the order of St. Benedict, ſome perſons of the fraternity, of ability and care, were appointed to regiſter the moſt conſiderable events; and after the death of every king theſe different memoirs were laid before a chapter of the order, to be reduced to a body of hiſtory, which was preſerved in their archives for the inſtruction of poſterity.

We

We have likewiſe other remains of the Saxon times, which may be of great uſe to an hiſtorian. In ſeveral libraries, and in many regiſter books of our oldeſt monaſteries, we have many charters granted by our Saxon kings, but they are to be admitted with great caution. The records of the church of Canterbury aſſure us that Withered who reigned about the year 700, was the firſt who gave out charters in writing, his predeceſſors thinking their bare word ſufficient to ſecure any of their gifts and benefactions.

Many of the Saxon laws have been publiſhed. The firſt attempt of this kind was made by L. Nowel, who collected all he could find, and left them to be tranſlated by his friend W. Lambard. Mr. Somner corrected the errors of Lambard, adding ſeveral laws omitted by him, and giving a double tranſlation in Latin and Engliſh, to the whole. And there have been ſome ſtill later additions and improvements by other hands. There is not much to be learned from the coins of any of our Saxon kings; their ſilver ones being generally of the ſame ſize, and very ſlovenly minted.

The oldeſt hiſtory of the Saxon affairs is the *Saxon Chronicle*, firſt publiſhed by Abraham

ham Wheelock, who tranſlated it, and cauſed it to be printed at the end of his Saxon Bede. The author, or authors, of this work are unknown. Some copies of it end with the year 977, another brings down the hiſtory to 1001, another to the year 1070, and another to 1154.

The earlieſt account we have of the reign of Alfred is that of *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, who lived in his court, and is ſaid to have been promoted by him to the biſhoprick of Sherborn. This treatiſe was firſt publiſhed by archbiſhop Parker in the old Saxon character, at the end of his edition of Thomas Walſingham's hiſtory. Aſſerius wrote his ſovereign's life no farther than the forty-fifth year of his age, which according to his computation, fell in the year of our Lord 893; but the work is continued by other hands to the death of Alfred.

The next Saxon hiſtorian is *Ethelwerd*, or *Edward Patritius*, deſcended of the blood royal, who lived in the year 1090, but he continued his chronicle of the Saxon kings no farther than Edgar. Indeed the whole is ſaid to be a tranſlation of an imperfect copy of the Saxon chronicle, and in a very bad ſtyle.

Many things relating to the civil govern-

ment

ment of theſe times are diſperſed in ſome particular lives of their ſaints and kings, particularly thoſe of Offa, Ofwin, Ethelwolf, and Edward the Confeſſor.

Of the later writers of the Saxon affairs, *Verſtegan* muſt be firſt mentioned. His *reſtitution of decayed intelligence in antiquities* relates particularly to the language, religion, manners, and government, of the ancient Engliſh Saxons. This writer has fallen into many miſtakes, but ſome of them have been noted by Mr. Sheringham, and the reſt have been carefully corrected by Mr. Somner.

Mr. Selden was a perſon of vaſt induſtry, and his attainments in moſt parts of learning were ſo extraordinary, that every thing that came from him is highly admired; but Mr. Nicholſon is by no means ſatisfied with the account he gives, in his *Analecta*, of the religion, government, and revolutions of ſtate among our Saxon anceſtors.

On the contrary, Mr. Nicholſon ſays, that the beſt performance he knows of, relating to the prime antiquities of the Saxons, is Mr. *Sheringham's* treatiſe *De Anglorum gentis origine*. Our civil wars ſent this author into the Low countries, where he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Dr. Marſham and

and the Dutch language, both inclining him to ſuch ſtudies as this book ſhows him to have delighted in. He appears to have been a perſon of great modeſty, as well as induſtry and learning. His collections from the Greek, Roman, and particularly from the northern writers, are exceedingly valuable.

Our Saxon antiquary ought alſo to be ſkilled in the writings of thoſe learned Germans who have made collections of their own laws, or have written ſuch gloſſaries, or grammatical diſcourſes, as may bring him acquainted with the many ancient dialects of our anceſtors and kinſmen in that part of the world; particularly the *Sachſen Spiegel*, or *Speculum Saxonicum*, which is an excellent manual of the old laws of the ancient Saxons.

In order to underſtand the Daniſh period of our hiſtory, the *Daniſh* antiquities muſt be ſearched into, and the Runic character underſtood; for in this character the Danes regiſtered all their more conſiderable tranſactions upon rocks and ſtones hewn into various ſhapes and figures. On theſe they engraved ſuch inſcriptions as were proper for their heathen altars, triumphal arches, ſepulchral monuments, and the genealogical hiſtories of their anceſtors. Their writings of leſs concern, as letters, almanacks,

almanacks, &c. were engraved upon wood; and becauſe beech was the moſt plentiful in Denmark, and moſt commonly employed for thoſe purpoſes, from the Daniſh name of that tree, which is *bog*, they, and all other northern nations, have the name of *book*.

Our Daniſh antiquary ſhould alſo be acquainted with the beſt Iſlandic hiſtorians; the moſt ancient whereof is *Aras Frode*, contemporary with Sæmond, about the year 1114. He firſt wrote a regular hiſtory of Iceland from the firſt planting of his country down to his own time, wherein he gives an account of the affairs of Norway, Denmark, and England, intermixed with thoſe of his own nation. Part of this work happily fell into the hands of Thomas Bartholine's friend, the biſhop of Skalholt, who took care to have it publiſhed in the year 1689.

There is likewiſe extant a couple of Norwegian hiſtories of good credit which explain many particulars of the exploits relating to the Daniſh kings of Great Britain, which our own hiſtorians have either wholly omitted, or recorded imperfectly. The former of theſe was written ſoon after the year 1130, by one Theodoric, a monk. The other was compiled by *Snorro Sturleſonius*. Both drew their ma-

terials from the ballads of the *ſcaldri*, whoſe hiſtorical poems, it is generally thought, may be depended upon. Arngrim Jonas, who lived about thoſe times, aſſures us that theſe ſcaldri were far from flattering, and knew nothing of the modern poetical fable. This book was tranſlated into the vulgar Engliſh by Peter Undallenſis, and publiſhed by Wormius.

Only two Daniſh hiſtorians, Mr. Nicholſon ſays, are neceſſary to the Engliſh antiquary's library; namely *Saxo Grammaticus*, and his contemporary and fellow ſervant *Sweno Agonis*, of both which we have an excellent edition by Stephanus. Saxo is commonly reckoned the moſt ancient, as well as the moſt polite, hiſtorian of Denmark, dying provoſt of the cathedral church at Roſchild in the year 1204. Saxo himſelf ſays that he compiled his hiſtory out of the Icelandic ballads, and Sweno declares that he compiled his from the traditions of old people; yet the former is thought by Arngrim Jonas, and J. Lyſcander, not to have made good uſe of his authorities.

The great reſtorer of the decayed antiquities of Denmark was *Olaus Wormius*, who has alſo enabled us to make many new diſcoveries in thoſe of our own nation. His *Literatura Runica* was the firſt happy attempt towards the

the right explanation of the old Cimbrian monuments, which till his time had lain neglected, and unknown to the learned world, not only in theſe northern kingdoms, but in ſeveral parts of Italy, Spain, and other European countries, where the Gothic arms and letters had gained a footing. His *Monumenta Danica* is alſo of ſingular uſe to a perſon who pretends to write upon any branch of our Engliſh antiquities; ſome of which are particularly illuſtrated by the author himſelf. Thomas Bartholine, ſon to the famous phyſician of that name, has given us an addition to Wormius's diſcoveries.

LECTURE XXVI.

The Engliſh Hiſtory from the Conqueſt. Ingulphus of Croyland, Marianus Scotus. Florentius Bravonius, Eadmerus, William of Malmſbury, Simeon of Durham, Ealred, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Newbury. Gervaſe of Canterbury, Roger de Hoveden, Ralph de Diceto, Matthew Paris, Chronicle of Mailros, Thomas Wicks, Nicholas Trivet, Roger Ceſtrenſis, John Brompton, Walter of Hemmingford, Ralph Higden,

John Vicar of Tinmouth, Matthew of Weſtminſter, Henry Knighton, Froiſſart, Thomas of Walſingham, William Caxton, and John Roſs.

AFTER the conqueſt (as Sir William Temple obſerves), though the hiſtory of England was not for a long time written by one ſkilful hand, yet it is repreſented in ſo clear a light, as leaves very little either obſcure or uncertain in the hiſtory of our kingdom, or the ſucceſſion of our kings; and for this advantage we are indebted to our monaſteries. I ſhall only give an account of the principal of our hiſtorians ſince that period, and this as briefly as poſſible, ranking them in the ſeveral centuries wherein they wrote.

The firſt of our Engliſh hiſtorians after the conqueſt was *Ingulphus of Croyland.* He wrote the hiſtory of his monaſtery, and in it relates many things concerning the kings of England. He begins in the year of Chriſt 626, with Penda king of Mercia, and ends at the year 1089, which was the third year of William Rufus. This author was the ſon of a courtier of Edward the laſt king of the Saxon race. He was reckoned an excellent Ariſtotelian philoſopher. He was counſellor to William duke of Normandy, and after the conqueſt

conqueſt of England was by him made abbot of Croyland. The relation this author bore to king William manifeſtly biaſſes him in the account he gives of Harold.

About the ſame time wrote *Marianus Scotus*, a monk of Mentz in Germany, who brought down our Engliſh hiſtory, interwoven with the more general one of Europe, as low as the year 1083. He was reckoned an elegant writer for the times, and his work met with ſuch univerſal applauſe in our monaſteries, that there was hardly one in the kingdom that wanted a copy of it, and ſome had ſeveral. The beſt and moſt complete manuſcript of it is in the public library at Oxford.

The earlieſt hiſtory in the twelfth century was written by *Florentius Bravonius*, a monk of Worceſter, who in many places of his work has almoſt tranſcribed Marianus, but he has added a great deal out of the Saxon chronicle and other writers. His book ended with his life, in the year 1119; but it was continued fifty years farther by another monk of the ſame monaſtery.

Eadmerus, a monk of Canterbury, is our next hiſtorian, whoſe *hiſtoria novorum*, &c. was publiſhed by Mr. Selden, and contains the hiſtory of the two Williams, and Henry I.

from the year 1066, to the year 1122. Mr. Nicholſon ſays this work is of great gravity, and unqueſtionable authority. The intimate acquaintance the author had with archbiſhop Anſelm did not bias him in favour of the clergy. The character which Selden gives of him is that his ſtyle equals that of William of Malmſbury, and that his matter and compoſition exceed him.

William of Malmſbury has had the higheſt commendations imaginable given him by ſome of our beſt critics in Engliſh hiſtory. He wrote *De geſtis regum Anglorum* in five books, with an appendix in two more, which he ſtyles *novellæ hiſtoriæ*. In theſe we have a judicious collection of whatever he found on record touching the affairs of England, from the firſt arrival of the Saxons, concluding his work with the reign of king Stephen, to whom he ſhows himſelf to have been a hearty enemy.

Simeon Dunelmenſis, and *Ealred* Abbot of Rievaulx are our next hiſtorians of note in this century. The former was monk and precentor of Durham in the year 1164, and may juſtly be reckoned one of the moſt learned men of his age. But his two books *De geſtis regum* are not his maſter-pieces. His hiſtory begins

begins at the death of Bede in 732, and ends in the year 1129. Abbot Ealred gives us a ſhort genealogy of our kings to Henry II. but enlarges chiefly on the praiſes of David king of Scots, founder of many abbeys of the Ciſtercians.

About the ſame time flouriſhed *Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon*, whoſe eight books, concluding with the reign of king Stephen, were publiſhed by Sir Henry Savil. After Bede's time he has many particulars out of the Saxon chronicle, which had been omitted by our hiſtorians before him. He acknowledges, and very juſtly, that his hiſtory is very confuſed.

William of Newbury was ſo called from a monaſtery of that name, whereof he was a member. His hiſtory begins at the death of Henry I. and ends in the year 1097, though he is ſaid to have been alive in the year 1120. He has with great keenneſs expoſed the fables of Jeffrey of Monmouth, for which he is blamed by Leland.

The thirteenth century begins with *Gervaſe* a monk of Canterbury, who is reported to have been a moſt judicious antiquary, and methodical hiſtorian, and to have made an excellent collection of the Britiſh and Engliſh hiſtory from the coming in of the Trojans to

the year 1200. All that is extant of his works begins with the year 1112, which was the twelfth year of Henry I. and ends with the death of Richard I. It is ſaid to be done with great judgment.

Contemporary with theſe two, and, as Nicholſon ſays, as great an hiſtorian as both of them joined together, was *Roger de Hoveden*, who ſeems to have been chaplain for ſome time to king Henry II. He has deduced our hiſtory to the year of Chriſt 1202, the fourth year of king John's reign.

The next hiſtorian of note is *Ralph de Diceto*, dean of London, who wrote about the year 1210. He compoſed two treatiſes, one called *abbreviationes chronicorum*, and the other *Imagines hiſtoriarum*. The former contains an abſtract of our hiſtory, but chiefly of church affairs, down to the conqueſt. In the latter he gives the hiſtory of ſome of our kings more at length, ending with the firſt years of king John's reign. Selden is a great admirer of this author and his works.

Soon after theſe writers appeared *Matthew Paris*, a monk of St. Alban's, one of the moſt renowned hiſtorians of this kingdom. His *hiſtoria major* contains the annals at large of eight of our kings, from the beginning of the reign

reign of William I. to the concluſion of that of Henry III. From the year 1259, in which this author died, to the death of king Henry III. it was continued by William Riſhanger, a monk of the ſame fraternity. The whole book ſhows a great deal of candour and exactneſs. It furniſhes us with ſo particular a relation of the brave oppoſition made by many of our princes to the uſurpations of the pope, that it is a wonder how ſuch an heretical hiſtory came to ſurvive thus long. The ſame author wrote an abſtract of the fore-mentioned book to which he gave the title of *chronica*, and which Lambard firſt called *hiſtoria minor*. It contains ſeveral particulars of note omitted in the larger hiſtory. The faireſt copy of this book, ſuppoſed to be written by the author's own hand, is in the king's library at St. James's.

The *chronicle of Mailros*, though its title may ſeem to rank it among the records of another kingdom, may juſtly challenge a place among our Engliſh hiſtorians, ſince it chiefly inſiſts upon the affairs of this nation. The abbot, or prior, of Dundranard in Galloway, a nurſery under Mailroſs, is thought to have been the firſt compiler of this work; but it was afterwards continued by ſeveral hands down to the year 1270.

The

The fourteenth century begins with *Thomas Wikes*. His hiſtory begins at the conqueſt and ends at the death of Henry I. in the year 1304. The author was canon regular of Oſney near Oxford, and writes as clearly and fully, eſpecially ſome paſſages relating to the wars of the barons, as ſo compendious a chronicle as his is would allow him to do; his ſtyle is elegant for the times.

Nicholas Trivet, ſon of Sir Thomas Trivet, lord chief juſtice, was prior of a monaſtery of Dominican friars in London, where he was buried in the year 1328. His hiſtory is in French, and bears the title of *Les geſtes des apoſtoiles, empereurs, e rois*; an excellent copy of it is in Merton college at Oxford.

Roger Ceſtrenſis, who was a benedictine monk of St. Werborges of Cheſter, was Trivet's contemporary, and wrote a large account of the affairs of this nation. His work he entitled *Polychronicon temporum*, and began it at the coming in of the Romans. He continued it at firſt no farther than the year 1314, but afterwards added a ſupplement of ſixteen years more. There are many manuſcripts of this work in the Harleian library.

About the ſame time, as Mr. Selden with probability

probability conjectures, lived the author of that chronicle which goes by the name of *John Brompton*, ſome time abbot of Joreval in the county of York, which begins with the coming in of Auguſtin the monk, in the year 528, and ends with the death of Richard I. in the year 1198. This author is particularly valuable for the collection, and verſion, which he has given us of the Saxon laws in Latin, made in the time of Edward III.

The chronicle of *Walter Hemmingford*, who flouriſhed in the reign of Edward III. (whoſe reign he has more largely deſcribed) begins in the year 1066, and ends with the year 1308. He was a monk of Glaſtonbury, a perſon of great induſtry, and a very learned man for the times in which he lived.

Ralph Higden, a monk of St. Werburghs in Cheſter, wrote a hiſtory which he ſtyles *Polychronicon*, compiled chiefly from the writings of others, particularly from ſome ancient chronicles which are now wholly loſt. He died very old, in the year 1377.

John, vicar of Tinmouth, and afterwards a monk of St. Alban's, in the year 1366, was a great collector of Engliſh hiſtories, which he left digeſted in three very large volumes, of which

which there are now fair copies in the libraries at Oxford, Lambeth, &c. They relate chiefly to the miracles of our Engliſh ſaints.

Matthew, a benedictine monk of *Weſtminſter*, was a great collector of former hiſtorians, from which he is uſually ſtyled *florilegus*. His hiſtory ends at the year 1307, which it is not probable he long ſurvived. The moſt eminent of his continuators was Adam Merimuth, canon regular of St. Paul's, and a great civilian. He begins his work at 1302, and his firſt part reaches only to 1343, but the ſecond continues the hiſtory to the year 1380, in which it is probable he died.

Henry Knighton, one of the canons of Leiceſter, in this century, wrote a chronicle *of the events of England*, as he ſtyles it. In his firſt book he gives us ſome account of the Saxon and Norman affairs, from the time of Edgar, who began his reign in 958, to William the Conqueror; and then he writes more largely to the year 1395, which was the nineteenth year of Richard III. in whoſe time he lived.

The fifteenth century was one of the moſt rude and illiterate ages. Among the few who were eminent for learning in it was Sir *John Froiſſart*,

Froiſſart, ſome time canon and treaſurer of Chimay in the dioceſe of Liege. His work contains indeed a general hiſtory of the affairs of France, Spain, and other parts of Europe; but he chiefly inſiſts on thoſe of this nation, and particularly the wars between the Engliſh and French from the year 1335 to 1400. This author was a Frenchman born, but was brought up in the court of king Edward III. and many years was familiarly converſant in that of Richard II. His account of things ſeems to be plain and honeſt, and perhaps no perſon gives a better account of the affairs of thoſe two princes. He wrote in his own native language, which in his time was the court language in England.

Paſſing by a ſet of very ordinary writers, the next hiſtorian worthy of our notice is *Thomas Walſingham*, a benedictine monk of St. Alban's, and very probably regius profeſſor of hiſtory in that monaſtery, about the year 1440. His ſhort hiſtory begins at the concluſion of Henry III.'s reign, where Matthew Paris ends, and continues the hiſtory to the end of Henry V. His *Hypodigma Neuſtriæ* has a more particular regard to the affairs of Normandy, giving a full account of that dukedom, from the time that it firſt came into the hands of Rollo,

Rollo, down to the ſixth year of Henry V. in which are many occurrences not elſewhere to be met with.

William Caxton, who was a menial ſervant for thirty years together to Margaret ducheſs of Burgundy (ſiſter to our king Edward IV.) in Flanders, continued a hiſtory begun by the monks of St. Alban's, which commenced with the firſt inhabiting this iſland, to the laſt year of Edward IV. 1483. The whole work bears the title of *Fructus temporum*. This author had certainly a good opportunity of being acquainted with the court tranſactions of his time.

John Roſs, with the account of whom we ſhall cloſe this century, was a man of good parts, and ſingular induſtry. He travelled over the greateſt part of England, and made large collections out of the libraries where he came, relating to the hiſtory and antiquities of this kingdom. His hiſtory of our kings is ſtill extant in the Cotton library, lately removed to the Britiſh muſeum. It contains many collections illuſtrating the antiquities of our univerſities.

LECTURE XXVII.

Robert Fabian, Polidore Virgil, Edward Hall, Hollingſhead, Stow, Speed, Baker, Clarendon, Whitlocke, and Ludlow. Burnet, Rapin, Hume, Robertſon. Parliamentary Hiſtory. Grey's Debates. Uſe of private Letters, Memorials, and other Remains of Men in public Characters.

THE firſt writer worthy of our notice in the ſixteenth century is *Robert Fabian*, an eminent merchant, and ſome time ſheriff of London, where he died in the year 1512. His *Hiſtoriarum Concordantiæ* conſiſts of ſeven parts, of which the ſix firſt bring down the hiſtory from Brutus to William the Conqueror, and in the ſeventh he gives the hiſtory of our kings from the Conqueror to Henry VII. He is very particular in the affairs of London, many things concerning the government of that great city being noted by him, which are not to be met with any where elſe. He mixes all along, the French hiſtory with the Engliſh, but in different chapters. In the beginning of the ſeventh part he obſerves Higden's method, of making his years commence at Michaelmas.

Polydore Virgil was the moſt accompliſhed writer, for elegance and clearneſs of ſtyle, that this

this age afforded. He wrote the hiſtory of our nation in Latin to Henry VIII. He was much acquainted with Engliſh affairs, but being a catholic, he gives a very unfair account of the reformation, and of the conduct of the proteſtants. His work however is neceſſary to ſupply a chaſm of almoſt ſeventy years in our hiſtory, including particularly the lives of Edward IV. and Edward V. which period is hardly to be found in Latin in any other author.

Edward Hall, who was ſome time recorder of London, where he died in the year 1547, wrote a large account of the wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, which he dedicates to Henry VIII. If the reader deſires to know what ſort of clothes were worn in each king's reign, and how the faſhions altered, this is the author for his purpoſe. In other reſpects his information is not very valuable.

The Chronicle written by *William Harriſon* and *Ralph Hollingshead*, two obſcure clergymen, was well received, and is ſtill greatly eſteemed. Hollingſhead frequently owns the great aſſiſtance he had from Francis Thynne, ſome time Lancaſter herald, and an eminent antiquary in the reign of queen Elizabeth. The ſecond edition of this hiſtory was continued to the year 1586 by John Hooper, alias Vowel.

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The firſt author we meet with in the ſeventeenth century is John Stow. He was a member of the merchant taylors' company in London. He travelled through a good part of England in ſearch after manuſcript hiſtorians, in the libraries of our cathedral churches, and was very exact and critical in his collections. Having ſpent above forty years in theſe ſtudies, he was put upon the correction and publiſhing of *Reyne Wolf's Chronicle* by Archbiſhop Whitgift, and he had fairly tranſcribed his work, and made it ready for the preſs, when he died, in the year 1605. Upon his death the reviſing and continuation of his work was committed to Edward Hows, who ſays he beſtowed thirty years in bringing it into that good order and method in which we now ſee it.

The chronicle of *John Speed* is the largeſt and beſt, ſays Mr. Nicholſon, that is extant. It begins with the firſt inhabitants of the iſland, and ends with the union of the two kingdoms under king James, to whom it is dedicated.

The chronicle of *Richard Baker*, who died in the Fleet in the year 1644, met with very great ſucceſs. The author himſelf wrote the hiſtory of our kings from the Romans down

to the end of the reign of James I. and it was continued to the reſtoration by Edward Philip, who having the peruſal of ſome of the duke of Albemarle's papers might have ſet that great revolution in its true light, had not ambition and flattery carried him beyond the truth, and his copy,

In latter times we have had no want of hiſtorians, at leaſt of compilers of hiſtory. The misfortune is that too many of them have been miſled by ſome favourite hypotheſis, which they ſeem to have written to ſupport. To paſs by, therefore, ſuch writers as ſir Winſton Churchill, Sandford, Brady, Tyrrel, Echard, Carte, and Guthrie, which are either ſaid to fall under the former cenſure, or are too voluminous, or ill digeſted, to be read with much pleaſure or improvement, I ſhall give a ſhort view of the more conſiderable that remain.

Clarendon, who accompanied Charles II. in his exile, who was afterwards his chancellor, and laſt of all diſcarded by him, wrote a full and pretty faithful hiſtory of the civil wars in the reign of Charles I. But as he is thought to adhere too much to the royal party, it will be neceſſary for the reader to compare his account of things with thoſe of Whitlocke and Ludlow,

Ludlow, who were of the oppoſite party; of whom the one was a zealous preſbyterian and the other an independent; and who, on account of the rank and employments they bore under the commonwealth, had no leſs advantage than Clarendon of being well informed of what they wrote. Clarendon is the firſt Engliſhman who ſeems to have attempted to write hiſtory with any degree of dignity; and conſidering how bad a taſte for compoſition prevailed at this time, his ſucceſs was conſiderable. But the length of his periods, and his long and frequent parentheſes are very tireſome.

Few writers have ever had a better opportunity of procuring information than biſhop Burnet, and the *hiſtory* he has left us of *his own times* is certainly a valuable work. But being a zealous advocate for the houſes of Orange and Hanover, he is charged with great partiality, and perhaps not wholly without reaſon, by the party whoſe principles he oppoſed.

Of all the general hiſtories of our nation till the revolution none are ſo full, and ſo impartial, as that written by *Rapin*, a Frenchman, who came over with king William from Holland, and after having ſerved under him

in Ireland, and travelled as tutor to ſome of our Engliſh nobility, retired again to Holland, where he ſpent twenty years in the compoſition of this excellent hiſtory. If this writer be thought tedious in ſome parts of his work, it is owing to his extreme care to omit no circumſtance of any important tranſaction, and to his fidelity in keeping cloſe to his authorities. The notes of Tindal, who tranſlated this work, are an uſeful ſupplement to it, and a correction of it in ſeveral places. The ſame author has written a continuation of Rapin to the reign of George II.

A more entertaining hiſtory of the ſame period, and much ſuperior in point of compoſition, is that of Mr. Hume. For a judicious choice of materials, and a happy diſpoſition of them, together with perſpicuity of ſtyle in recording them, this writer was hardly ever exceeded; eſpecially in the latter part of his work, which is by far the moſt elaborate. The earlier part of his hiſtory is too ſuperficial. He has endeavoured to trace the progreſs of our conſtitution, and has deſcended more into the internal ſtate of the nation, in exhibiting a view of the manners and ſentiments of each age, the ſtate of property and perſonal ſecurity, with the improvements in the

the conveniences of life, than moſt other writers; but he has repreſented the ancient government as much more arbitrary than it really was, as will appear by the much more accurate accounts of Dr. Sullivan, and eſpecially Mr. Millar, whoſe work on the Engliſh conſtitution I cannot too ſtrongly recommend. Some great faults in Mr. Hume's hiſtory were well pointed out by Dr. Towers. Mr. Hume is alſo thought by many to have given too favourable an idea of the characters of our princes of the Stewart family, by omitting to mention thoſe particulars in their conduct which have been moſt objected to; and it was probably with a view to exculpate them, that he has taken ſo much pains to give the colour that he has done to the preceding periods of our hiſtory. A good antidote to what is unfavourable to liberty in Mr. Hume will be found in the very maſterly hiſtory of Mrs. Macaulay. Though the ſtyle of Mr. Hume is, upon the whole, excellent, yet he has departed more than any other writer of the preſent age from the true Engliſh idiom, and leaned more to that of the French.*

* This I pointed out in the *Notes and obſervations*, ſubjoined to my *Engliſh Grammar*. To a common friend, Dr. Franklin, he acknowledged the juſtneſs of my remarks, and promiſed to correct his ſtyle in future editions of his work; and I believe he has in a great meaſure done it.

Dr. Robertſon's hiſtory of Scotland throws great light upon the reign of queen Elizabeth, and in point of compoſition is not inferior to Hume.

I would particularly recommend to the reader of Engliſh hiſtory that written by Dr. *Henry*, who digeſts it under certain heads, as *religion*, *commerce*, *arts*, &c. in each reign. In conſequence of this he has given more attention to each of theſe ſubjects than has been done by the generality of Engliſh hiſtorians. His hiſtory comes down to the acceſſion of Edward VI.

A valuable treaſure of materials for the conſtitutional hiſtory of England is contained in the *parliamentary hiſtory* lately publiſhed, and in the *journals* and debates in the houſe of Commons by various hands, among which thoſe taken by Mr. Grey are the moſt valuable; relating to the times before and after the important period of the revolution.

It is in ſuch large works as theſe, and the letters and journals of eminent men, who had a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſactions of their times, as thoſe of Melville, Henry lord Clarendon, and others, that we are tranſported as it were into thoſe paſt times. Theſe give us an inſight into the manners and turn of thinking, which prevailed in them, and bring us intimately acquainted with the perſons who made

made the greateſt figure in them. Hereby we are enabled to enter into their ſentiments and views, and have a clear idea of their peculiar character, temper, and manner. In ſuch works as theſe the men themſelves are ſeen acting and ſpeaking; whereas in general hiſtory we are, at beſt, only told how they ſpoke and acted, which is a thing very different from the former. Of ſuch books as theſe there has been no want ſince the introduction of printing into England, particularly from the reign of Henry VIII. ſo that a very ſatisfactory idea of our hiſtory from that time may be had by any perſon who will take the requiſite pains for it.

LECTURE XXVIII.

Hiſtories of particular Lives and Reigns. Of William the Conqueror by William of Poictiers. Of Edward II. by Thomas de la More. Of Henry V. by Titus Livius. Of Edward IV. by Haddington. Of Edward V. by Sir Thomas More. Of Henry VII. by Sir Francis Bacon. Of Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Edward VIth's own Diary. Of Elizabeth by Camden. Lives written by Harris and others.

To the former writers of *general hiſtory*, or of the hiſtory of their own times, we ſhall

find our account in adding thoſe who have confined themſelves to the hiſtory of *particular monarchs;* ſince from theſe, if not manifeſtly under ſome prejudices, we may expect the fulleſt and moſt ſatisfactory accounts. I ſhall therefore ſubjoin a brief account of the moſt valuable writers of this claſs.

The life of William the Conqueror was written by *William of Poictiers.* Though he was a foreigner, and under ſome obligations to the king, he has acquitted himſelf with great impartiality. There is alſo a ſhort anonymous hiſtory of his reign publiſhed by Silas Taylor at the end of his treatiſe of Gavelkind. This writer lived in the reign of Henry I. ſo that he might be ſufficiently informed of the truth of all that he relates. But ſir William Temple has given us the moſt excellent and judicious account of this king's reign and policy.

King Stephen's memoirs were collected by *Richard Prior of Hexham,* and are printed among the *decem ſcriptores.*

The hiſtory of Henry II. has of late been very elaborately written by lord Littleton.

The expedition of Richard I. into the Holy Land was celebrated by *Joſeph Iſcanus,* in a poem intitled *Antiocheis.* It is in heroic verſe, and

and in a ſtyle much ſuperior to what might be expected from his age. This author was one who accompanied his hero into the Holy Land.

The life of Edward II. was accurately written by *ſir Thomas De la More*, who was knighted by Edward I. was counſellor of Edward II. and lived to the beginning of the more proſperous reign of Edward III. It was firſt tranſlated from French into Latin by Walter Baker, a canon of Oſney, near Oxford, and has frequently been publiſhed in Engliſh. Sir Henry Cary has alſo written the hiſtory of this unfortunate prince, with political obſervations on him, and his unhappy favourites Gaveſton and Spencer.

The life of Henry V. was written at large by one who called himſelf *Titus Livius*, and under that name dedicated it to Henry VI. We have two good copies of this work, one in ſir John Cotton's library, the other in that of Bennet College.

The life of Edward IV. has been written by *Mr. Haddington*, as well as could be expected from one who lived at ſo great a diſtance from him.

The ſhort and lamentable hiſtory of Edward V. was largely and elegantly deſcribed by

by the famous *ſir Thomas More*, lord chancellor of England, who alſo began, but did not finiſh, the hiſtory of Richard III.

The hiſtory of Henry VII. has been written in an excellent manner by ſir Francis Bacon. He has entered as it were into all his councils, has largely deſcribed every thing of importance, and dwelt upon nothing trivial.

The hiſtory of Henry VIII. has been written by Edward lord Herbert of Cherbury, with almoſt as much reputation as lord chancellor Bacon gained by that of Henry VII. This author, however, has dwelt chiefly on affairs of war and policy, and has not entered far into the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of that reign, which is nevertheleſs the moſt important and intereſting.

The moſt conſiderable tranſactions of the reign of Edward VI. are well regiſtered by the young king himſelf, in the diary written by his own hand, which is ſtill preſerved in the Cotton library, from which biſhop Burnet tranſcribed and publiſhed it.

The long and proſperous reign of queen Elizabeth was written by Mr. Camden, by the ſpecial direction and command of lord Cecil. It has gone through ſeveral editions, and in ſeveral languages, though it is pity,

Nicholſon

Nicholſon ſays, it ſhould be read in any other than its author's polite original Latin. The ſame reign has likewiſe been written lately by Mr. Birch.

The hiſtory of the laſt century has been very much illuſtrated by ſeveral ſingle lives lately publiſhed, particularly thoſe of James I. Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell, by Mr. Harris, in the way of *text and notes*, after the manner of Bayle*.

* As hiſtories of particular reigns and lives are continually multiplying, I leave this lecture a ſhort one, to give room for an account of them.

LECTURE XXIX.

Light thrown upon the Civil Hiſtory of England by the eccleſiaſtical Writers. Odericus Vitalis, &c. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation. Cranmer's Memorials publiſhed by Strype. An Acquaintance with the old Engliſh Law-books uſeful to an Engliſh Hiſtorian. Couſtumier de Normandy. Glanville, Bracton, Fleta, Hengham, Horn's Mirroir de Juſtice, Breton, Novæ Narrationes, Forteſcue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ, Statham's Abridgment

Abridgment of Reports, Littleton and Coke, Doctor and Student, Fitzherbert de Natura Brevium. Year Books, Reports, &c. Wood's Inſtitute.

In order to obtain a complete knowledge of the political affairs of this nation, it will be neceſſary to attend to the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of it; particularly as before and during the reformation, the affairs of the church and ſtate were ſo intimately united, that no writer can give a complete idea of either of them ſeparately. Even thoſe writers who confined themſelves the moſt to eccleſiaſtical matters never fail to introduce a good deal of political hiſtory. Thus Odericus Vitalis, who wrote thirteen books of church hiſtory, in his firſt and ſecond books treats pretty largely of the military actions of the Normans, in France, England, and Apulia, to the year 1141, about which time he lived.

Of eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians there has been no failure ſince the firſt introduction of chriſtianity into this iſland, quite down to the reformation. Of theſe ſome have written general eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, others the particular hiſtories of certain biſhoprics and biſhops, of particular orders of monks and ſaints; but for theſe

theſe I refer you to Nicholſon, who has treated very largely of all the moſt conſiderable of them; it not being my buſineſs to take notice of church hiſtory, any farther than it is neceſſarily connected with civil. In this view, however, I muſt not fail to mention *Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation.* For never were the affairs of church and ſtate ſo intimately connected as during that period. This hiſtorian gives us a particular account of all the affairs of the reformation, from its firſt beginning in the reign of Henry VIII. till it was finally ſettled and completed by queen Elizabeth in the year 1559. The collection of records which he gives in the concluſion of each volume ſupplies good vouchers of the truth of all he advances in the body of his hiſtory, and are much more perfect than could reaſonably be expected, after the pains taken in queen Mary's time to ſuppreſs every thing that carried the marks of the reformation upon it.

The *Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer* have been publiſhed by Strype, who has adhered to Burnet's method, giving his own hiſtorical account in three books; the firſt of which ends at the death of Henry VIII. the ſecond at the death of Edward VI. and the third at that

that of Cranmer himſelf. In the concluſion there is a good collection of *records*, among which are ſeveral authentic letters, and other papers of value then firſt made public. A work of more general utility and curioſity is another by the ſame writer, entitled, *Eccleſiaſtical Memorials relating chiefly to religion and the reformation, &c. under king Henry VIII. Edward VI. and queen Mary*, in three volumes folio.

Of all the books not directly hiſtorical, none are of ſuch immediate uſe, for the moſt valuable purpoſes of hiſtory, as LAW BOOKS. In theſe we may trace both the greater and more minute changes in the internal conſtitution of the nation, with innumerable other important articles of which general hiſtorians take but little notice. I ſhall therefore give a brief account of all our moſt ancient law books, nearly in the order in which they were written.

The firſt book of laws which draws our attention is that which is entitled *Couſtumier de Normandy*, and would do much more ſo, if it were, as ſome have imagined, an ancient formulary drawn up by the firſt princes of that country, and brought in hither by the conqueror. But though it contains many particulars which prove it not to be of ſo great antiquity,

antiquity, it would ſtill be of conſiderable value, if it were compiled, as the author himſelf hints, forty years after the acceſſion of king Richard. There are in it many of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, and other Saxon kings, but mixed with Norman cuſtoms that are no way related to them. Though a great part of this compilation is very ancient, ſeveral paragraphs are tranſlated almoſt *verbatim* out of Glanville; yet ſome of his courts of juſtice, original writs, &c. are not ſo much as named in it.

The next author is *Rainulph de Glanville*, who was chief juſtice in the reign of Henry II. The book that now bears his name (though there have been ſome diſputes about the author of it) was firſt publiſhed by the perſuaſion and procurement of Sir William Stamford, and has ſince had ſeveral editions. Its title is *Tractatus de Legibus et Conſuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, &c.* It is divided into fourteen books, each of which relates to a diſtinct diviſion of the law, as it ſtood in his time; and in all theſe he gives the forms of ſuch *writs* as were then, and are moſtly ſtill in uſe, upon all the ſeveral occaſions that are treated of.

John Bracton, the author of a treatiſe which goes

goes by his name, was judge itinerant in the latter end of the reign of Henry III. and the beginning of Edward I. This truly venerable code of our ancient common law conſiſts of five books, which begin with the ſeveral legal ways of procuring property, and proceed to thoſe of the juſt maintaining or recovering it. This method is very conformable to that of the emperor Juſtinian, whoſe laws are alſo ſometimes quoted as familiarly as if they were part of the known common law of this kingdom. On every head this author interſperſes a regiſter of proper writs, and reports of adjudged caſes in both benches, as alſo of ſuch as had been tried before the judges in eyre, aſſize, &c.

The author of that methodical and learned treatiſe which bears the name of *Fleta*, wrote in the reign of one of the Edwards, moſt probably the ſecond or third. In his firſt book he inſiſts chiefly upon the pleas of the crown, in the ſecond he gives a moſt full and curious account of all the affairs of the king's houſehold, with many other particulars that greatly illuſtrate the hiſtory of thoſe times; and in the four following he ſhows the practice of our courts of judicature, the forms of writs, explication of law terms, &c. He ſometimes tranſcribes

tranſcribes the very words of Bracton, and ſometimes has the ſame things that we find in one of Bracton's epitomizers, Gilbert de Thornton.

The laſt mentioned writer modelled his abſtract of the common law as he thought would be moſt uſeful in explaining acts of parliament. He frequently quits Bracton's method, and makes uſe of one which looks more confuſed.

Sir Ralph de Hengham was chief juſtice of the king's bench and of the common pleas in the reign of Edward I. His *Summas* have always paſt under the titles of *Hingham magna*, and *parva*, and have both the ſame common ſubject, treating of the ancient and now obſolete forms of pleading in *eſſoins* and defaults. They were long ſince tranſlated into Engliſh; but that being done in the language of Edward II.'s or III.'s time, it was thought moſt adviſable to print them in their original Latin. This was done by Mr. Selden, who publiſhed them with Forteſcue, adding a few notes of his own in Engliſh.

Beſides theſe, there were many more treatiſes on matters of law, written in the time of Edward I. wherein the practice of the bar began firſt to flouriſh; but not being much condu-

cive to the purpoſe of hiſtory, the mention of them is omitted in this place.

Andrew Horn, the author of the *Mirroir de Juſtice*, lived in the reign of Edward II. His deſign was to give the judges of his time a view of what they ſhould have been, and what they were. He frequently quotes the rolls of the Saxon times, and even their very *year books*, which are now vaniſhed; which ſhows that we have loſt many of our beſt helps to the knowledge of the hiſtory of thoſe ages. He pretends to have peruſed all the laws of this iſland ever ſince the reign of king Arthur. The Engliſh edition differs very much from the French, and yet the tranſlator pretends that he kept cloſe to the words and meaning of his author.

That excellent French manual of our laws which bears the name of *Briton*, Mr. Nicholſon thinks was written by that John Breton, whom we find one of the king's juſtices together with Ralph and Roger de Hengham, in the firſt year of Edward II. Wingate's edition is juſtly commended for the care and judgment of the publiſher; ſuch various readings being added in the appendix as ſerve very much to ſupply the defects of the former impreſſion. The language is the true old French of the thirteenth century, as appears from the authentic

authentic inſtruments of thoſe days, and differs conſiderably from that of Littleton in the fifteenth. The whole book runs in the name and ſtyle of the king himſelf, as a ſummary of all the laws then in force within the kingdom of England and dominion of Ireland.

It is generally agreed that the art of pleading was brought to its perfection in the reign of Edward III. when the little manual of entries which bears the name of *Novæ Narrationes* was firſt collected and publiſhed. It gives us ſuch forms of courts, declarations, defenſors, pleas, &c. as were then in uſe. To which are added the *articuli ad novas narrationes*, being a commentary or ſome ſhort rules upon them. But all theſe are few and defective in compariſon with what we have in thoſe books of entries which are the works of later times, the chief whereof are thoſe by *William Raſtal*, *ſir Edward Coke*, and *ſir Humphry Winch*.

Sir John Forteſcue was chief juſtice of the king's bench during half the reign of Henry VI. In his book, which is entitled *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, and which is written by way of dialogue between the prince and himſelf, he proves that all kings are under obligation to be converſant with the laws of their own realms;

that our laws are not alterable at the ſole will of our monarchs; that our conſtitution, or common law is the moſt reaſonable, as well as the moſt ancient in Europe, and more equitable in many things, in which he inſtances, than even the civil law, or the laws of neighbouring nations, and that our kings are greater and more potent in the liberties and properties of their own people, than arbitrary tyrants in the vaſſalage of their ſlaves. This book was firſt tranſlated and publiſhed, together with its Engliſh verſion, by R. Mulcaſter, and was afterwards reviſed and improved with a few curſory notes by Mr. Selden.

Nicholas Statham, one of the barons of the exchequer in the time of Edward IV. was the firſt who reduced the larger arguments and tedious reports of the year books into a ſhort ſyſtem under proper heads and common places, which he did as low as the reign of Henry VI. His example has been followed by many other perſons.

Sir Thomas Littleton was one of the juſtices of common pleas in the reign of Edward IV. His *Book of Tenures* is ſtudied by every perſon who pretends to any acquaintance with the municipal law of this kingdom, and has been more frequently printed than any other law

law book whatever; though many particulars of his common law are altered by acts of parliament, and others are disused and grown obsolete. Sir Edward Coke says that this is the most perfect and absolute work that ever was written in any human science. The first volume of *Coke's Institutes* is only a translation and comment upon this book. Sir Edward's *Complete Copyholder*, may also be read as a second commentary on Littleton's tenures; and together with these, it will be highly convenient to peruse sir Henry Spelman's treatise on the original growth, propagation, and condition of lands and tenures by knight's service in England.

The dialogue in two parts, which goes by the name of the *Doctor and Student*, was written by one Christopher St. Germain, barrister of the Inner Temple, who died in the year 1540. The design of the book was to enquire into the grounds and reasons of the common law of England, and to show how consistent every one of its precepts is with right reason and a good conscience.

Sir Anthony Fitzherbert was one of the justices of the common pleas in the reign of Henry VIII. and was author of the *New Natura Brævium*, which was carefully reviewed

by William Raſtal, who added a table and ſome other proper ornaments to what its excellent author ſeems to have left unfiniſhed.

There were ten volumes of the *year books* printed by ſubſcription in the year 1679. Theſe began with the reign of Edward III. and ended with that of the reign of Henry VIII. To theſe were afterwards added the caſes adjudged in the time of Edward II. collected by ſerjeant Mainard, out of ſeveral ancient manuſcripts.

Anciently judgments at the common law were recorded with the reaſons and cauſes of ſuch judgments, and the cuſtom was continued during the whole reign of Edward I. and a great part of that of Edward II. But this cuſtom ceaſed in Edward III.'s time, when cauſes were numerous, and the practice of the law was brought to its full perfection. Hence aroſe the trouble of thoſe *reporters of cases*, who from the beginning of that reign have ſupplied the defects of the records, and not only afford us, as theſe do, the final determination of the judges in each caſe, but alſo the intermediate reaſonings and debate on which ſuch judgment was founded. The authors of theſe reports are very numerous, and are daily increaſing.

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The preceding writers are neceſſary to be ſtudied by a perſon who would enter minutely into the ſtate of the kingdom with reſpect to thoſe things to which they relate; but a perſon may underſtand our general hiſtorians very well if he be maſter of *Blackſtone's Commentaries*, for the preſent ſtate of the law, Sullivan's Lectures, and Dalrymple on feudal property, together with ſome of lord Kames's law tracts, for the ancient ſtate of it, and the capital changes it has undergone to the preſent time. Jacob's Law Dictionary is likewiſe a very uſeful book to be conſulted occaſionally, in reading a courſe of Engliſh hiſtory; as alſo Brady's Gloſſary, ſubjoined to his Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory. But without ſome knowledge of the Engliſh law, it can be but a very lame and imperfect idea that any perſon can get of the Engliſh hiſtory.

LECTURE XXX.

Of the Engliſh Records. Royal Proclamations. Diſpatches and Inſtructions for Foreign Miniſters. Leagues, Treaties, Memorials, &c. where to be found. Records of the Old Court of Chivalry. Agard's Collections. Cotton's Library. Records of Foreign States. Rymer's Fœdera. The Green Cloth. Acts of Parliament. Raſtal's Collection. Prynne's Abridgment, and others. Journals of both Houſes. Summons of the Nobility in Dugdale. Records in the Courts of Weſtminſter. Diſpoſition of the Records in the Tower.

FROM books and writings which have been publiſhed, I proceed to give ſome account of the various kinds of *records* which our country affords, and which a diligent hiſtorian may greatly avail himſelf of. Of theſe records, ſome or other are daily publiſhed, but many are of ſuch a nature that we can never expect there will be any other than ſingle copies of them extant; or at moſt but a few copies of each. Theſe therefore cannot be conſulted without having recourſe to the places where they are preſerved, of which I ſhall give the beſt information I can collect from Nicholſon and other writers.

To preſerve as much diſtinctneſs as poſſible in

in this account, I ſhall firſt give an account of thoſe records which are preſerved within the verge of the King's Court and Palace Royal; ſecondly, of thoſe which relate to the two houſes of parliament; thirdly, thoſe of the courts of Weſtminſter, &c.; and laſtly, thoſe of an eccleſiaſtical nature. Articles of leſs note will be introduced occaſionally, where the mention of them will appear the moſt natural.

The ſociety of antiquaries projected by ſir Robert Cotton, Mr. Camden, and others, took particular care to make it one of the rules and ſtatutes of their community, that all the *proclamations* of our kings and queens ſhould be preſerved in their library. Theſe are the more valuable, becauſe general hiſtorians, although they take notice of what is commanded or prohibited by royal authority, ſeldom give us the reaſons of ſuch public edicts, which are always expreſſed in the inſtrument itſelf, and are much more valuable than it, as they often contain a good part of the hiſtory of the times.

Charters, and letters patent, making grants of privileges, offices, and penſions, are at this day enrolled in chancery; but as they formerly took their riſe at the King's Court of Reſidence,

Reſidence, they are to be looked for in the paper office.

To diſtinguiſh thoſe that are truly ancient and genuine from ſuch as are counterfeit, it will be requiſite to be perfectly well ſkilled in the ſeveral changes that have been made in the kings' ſeals and titles, of which Nicholſon gives a particular account. For ancient and modern precedents of characters conſult Shepherd's treatiſe of corporations, fraternities, and gilds.

Occaſional proclamations with all diſpatches and inſtructions for foreign miniſters, letters of intelligence, and other public papers which are communicated to the two ſecretaries of ſtate, are tranſmitted to the *paper office*, wherein they are all diſpoſed by way of library, in a place of good ſecurity and convenience within the King's Palace at Whitehall. There are likewiſe the credentials of ambaſſadors, the letters of foreign princes and ſtates, leagues, treaties, memorials, &c. Of what great uſe to any hiſtorian a free acceſs to this treaſure may be, appears from Burnet's hiſtory of the reformation. Beſides theſe aſſiſtances, the inquiſitive hiſtorian will here find a great variety of papers relating to the decrees and tranſactions of ſeveral of our ancient as well as modern palace courts.

The

The court of chivalry has been long diſcontinued, but ſome of its records that relate to the proceedings in the Marſhalſea are ſtill in the Paper-office. There is however little in them to an hiſtorian's purpoſe. What is moſt conſiderable in this rich treaſure is the vaſt collection we here meet with of memorials, inſtructions, plenipotentiary powers, granted in ſeveral reigns and on ſeveral occaſions to our ambaſſadors and envoys, or papers of the like kind preſented by the miniſters of foreign princes and ſtates reſiding in England. That great light in hiſtory may be had from theſe is evident from *Diggs's complete Ambaſſador*, the hiſtory of ſir Thomas Randolf's embaſſy to the emperor of Ruſſia, and many other works.

In the Receipt-office in the Exchequer there is a ſhort collection of all leagues, treaties of peace, intercourſes and marriages with foreign nations, compiled by the induſtrious antiquary Agard; but this falls infinitely ſhort of that immenſe ſtore which ſir John Cotton's library will afford of theſe matters. We have there no leſs than forty-three volumes of treaties between the Engliſh, Scotch, and French, in a fair and regular method, beſides many more of the like kind in a more looſe and diſperſed condition.

Nor

Nor are the memoirs of our own ambaſſadors only of great uſe to an Engliſh hiſtorian; thoſe of our neighbouring nations are no leſs ſo; thoſe eſpecially with which this kingdom has maintained the greateſt correſpondence in treaties of peace and commerce; as France and Holland, from which countries we are often obliged to fetch our information in ſome articles, concerning which our own hiſtorians afford us no ſatisfaction. The like may be ſaid of Denmark, Sweden, &c. whenever we find our own affairs interwoven with thoſe of other countries. This want is in part ſupplied by *Rymer's Fœdera*, an immenſe work, undertaken by the command, and at the expence of queen Anne. It contains not only finiſhed treaties, but letters of great princes, and their chief miniſters of ſtate, inſtructions to ambaſſadors, and other ministers reſiding in foreign courts, Papal bulls of all kinds, congé d'elires, and of restitution of temporalities, royal mandates to the clergy for commemorative maſſes, faſts, and thankſgivings, &c. ſculptures of ancient hands and ſeals, and many other curious pieces of antiquity,

There is another repoſitory of court records which is commonly known by the name of the

green

green cloth. In this office are not only preſerved the accounts of the king's houſhold expences, but alſo ſuch orders as have from time to time been given by the lord ſteward, chamberlain, comptroller, &c. for the more regular behaviour of the inferior ſervants. There likewiſe (and not in Chancery) were commonly inrolled all letters and writings concerning ſuch matters of ſtate as were not fit to be made public.

A collection of the *laws* before Magna Charta was made by ſir Henry Spelman, and is now among the many choice manuſcripts in the Bodleian library.

Acts of parliament often give hints of the manners and cuſtoms which prevailed at the time of their being enacted, ſo that many parts of our hiſtory may be recovered from them; eſpecially if compared with the writers either in divinity or morality about the ſame date. Thus the ſtatute againſt the multiplication of metals ſhows the attention which was given to chemical experiments in order to diſcover the philoſopher's ſtone; and Chaucer's tale of the cannon yeomen confirms the ſame fact.

The putting of marginal notes to the ſtatutes at large was firſt begun by William Raſtal,

Raſtal, who collected all in force from Magna Charta to the fourth year of Philip and Mary. Theſe collections have been carried on by different hands to the preſent time. But ſince theſe collections are in many reſpects deficient, the diligent hiſtorian will be obliged to have recourſe to the original records.

Before the uſe of printing, and till the reign of Henry VII. the ſtatutes were all engroſſed on parchment, and proclaimed openly in every county; but this cuſtom has ſince been diſcontinued. In theſe parliamentary rolls are many deciſions of difficult points in law, in which we have not only the final reſolution and judgment of the court, but alſo the reaſons of it.

An exact abridgment of as many of the parliamentary records as were to be had in the Tower of London, from the reign of Edward II. to that of Richard III. was made by ſir Robert Cotton, and publiſhed by William Prynne. There is a fair tranſcript of thoſe from the firſt of Edward III. to the forty-third of queen Elizabeth in the Cotton library, where there are alſo two volumes of indexes to the Tower records.

The laſt ſort of parliamentary records are the journals of the lords and commons, wherein every

every vote that paſſes is carefully regiſtered by the clerks of the ſeveral houſes. A complete journal of the tranſactions of both houſes, from the firſt of Henry VIII. to the ſeventh of Edward VI. was drawn up by Robert Boyer, and is now in the Cotton library; but the ſureſt fountain is that of the original records themſelves in the Tower and Parliament-office. Theſe journals have lately been printed.

Sir William Dugdale has given us a perfect copy of all the ſummonſes of the nobility to all the great councils and parliaments of this realm, from the forty-ninth of Henry III. to the preſent times, wherein we likewiſe find the like mandates to the clergy and commons.

The records of the king's courts at Weſtminſter are firſt depoſited in the chapel at the rolls, and as that grows full and overſtocked, they are removed to the Tower; where, in two ſeveral apartments, they are methodically arranged according to their various kinds and uſes. In Wakefield Tower are the enrolments of leagues and treaties with foreign princes, the original laws as they paſſed the royal aſſent, authentic memoirs of the Engliſh achievements in France and other nations, forms of homage from the kings of Scotland, the eſtabliſhment

liſhment and laws of Ireland, liberties, and privileges granted to cities, corporations, and private ſubjects, tenures and ſurveys of lands and manors, inſpeximuſes of charters and deeds, made before and ſoon after the Norman conqueſt, boundaries of all the foreſts in England, &c. In ſhort, we have here, according to the petition of the commons in parliament, *the perpetual evidence of every man's right*, without which no ſtory of the nation (to uſe Dr. Chamberlain's words) can be written or proved. In Julius Cæſar's chapel in the White Tower there is another vaſt collection of records, out of which the indefatigable William Prynne collected his four large volumes. Any of theſe may be ſeen and peruſed by thoſe who have occaſion to conſult them, there being a perſon appointed to attend for that purpoſe, eight hours every day in ſummer, and ſix in winter.

In the records of the court of King's-bench we are to look for all judgments upon notorious treaſons, breaches of the peace, &c. as alſo for the like upon common pleas, by bill for debt, covenant, promiſe, &c. againſt the immediate officers of the king's court. The public records of this court, as well as thoſe of the Common Pleas, preceding the firſt year of Henry VI. are in the chapter-houſe of the church

church of Weſtminſter; but thoſe of that year and downwards are kept in the upper treaſury adjoining to Weſtminſter-hall; ſuch only excepted as are of daily uſe, and not above ten years old, which are in the cuſtody of the clerks in the lower treaſury.

LECTURE XXXI.

The petty Bag-office. The Maſter of the Rolls. Regiſtrum de Cancellaria. Lower Exchequer. The Pipe-office. The ſeveral Remembrancers. Doomſday Book. The red Book of the Exchequer. The black Book. Teſta Nevilli. Records of the inferior Courts. Thoſe kept by the Secretary of the Admiralty. The Office of Ordnance. The Libraries and Muſeums of Noblemen and private Gentlemen. Uſe of the Britiſh Muſeum. What Records have been publiſhed. Formulare Anglicanum. Pedigrees of ancient Families. Old Accounts of Expences and Diſburſements in Families. Ledger Book, and other domeſtic Records. Monaſticum Anglicanum by Dugdale. Notitia Monaſtica by Tanner. Univerſity Monuments. Hiſtoriola Oxonienſis. Wood's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford. Black Book of Cambridge. Lives of Engliſh Writers by Leland and others. Regiſters in Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

THE records of that court of Chancery wherein the proceſs runs *ſecundum legem et conſue-*

conſuetudinem Angliæ are filled up in the *petty bag-office.* The chief clerk of this court is the maſter of the Rolls. In his keeping are the enrolments of all letters patent, treaties, and leagues, deeds, and purchaſes, recognizances, commiſſions of appeal, oyer and terminer, &c. ever ſince the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. the reſt having been tranſmitted to the Tower. Moſt of the Chancery records were deſtroyed by the rebels under Wat Tyler in the time of Richard II.

There are ſeveral repoſitories of the records belonging to the high court of Chancery, all of which are under the immediate care and inſpection of the maſter of the Rolls. Firſt, In the chapel of the Rolls, the oldeſt record is a patent roll of Edward V. thoſe that bear any higher date being long ſince depoſited in the Tower. Thoſe of the following reigns to the end of queen Elizabeth, and ſomewhat lower, are ſtill kept here in good order. Secondly, *The petty Bag-office* firſt receives the enrolments of patents with the privy ſeals and eſtreats from the ſix clerks, but is obliged to tranſmit the former to the chapel, and the latter to the Exchequer; ſo that nothing ancient is to be looked for here. Thirdly, In *the Examiner's-office* are depoſitions of witneſſes,

neſſes, from the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. and ſome few that are higher. Fourthly, the moſt noble repoſitory of the ancient records in Chancery is in the *Tower*, under the ultimate inſpection of the maſter of the Rolls. The principal treaſure under his charge lies in ſeveral preſſes within that part of the palace which bears the name of *Wakefield Tower*. The contents of theſe are very large. A general account of them in alphabetical order may be ſeen in Nicholſon.

Another conſiderable treaſure of records within the precincts of the Tower of London, and under the ſame inſpection with the former, is in that part which is called *Cæſar's Chapel*. There is a large collection of proceedings in Chancery as high as the times of Henry IV. together with regular bills, anſwers and depoſitions, from the firſt year of queen Elizabeth, privy ſeals, manucaptions, &c. from the days of Edward I. and ſeveral other particulars.

There is one famous monument of antiquity belonging to this court which they call *Regiſtrum de Cancellaria*, or the regiſter of writs, containing the form of writs at the common law. Theſe have often been printed.

In the hands of the two chamberlains of the lower Exchequer there are many ancient

records, leagues, and treaties with foreign princes, ſtandards of money, weights and meaſures, &c. There were anciently four ſeveral apartments wherein the records of the Exchequer were kept, being all in the cuſtody and under the charge of the chamberlains of that court. A particular account of theſe with their contents may be ſeen in Nicholſon.

Of the other repoſitories of exchequer records the principal is the *Pipe-office*, wherein are kept the *great rolls of the Exchequer*, that is one bundle for every year, from the reign of king Henry II. to the preſent time. In theſe are ſtated the accounts of the royal revenue, whether certain or caſual. The moſt ancient record in this office is that which bears the name of king Stephen.

There are alſo other offices belonging to this high court not to be overlooked by an hiſtorian, which are known by the name of their ſeveral *remembrancers*, as firſt, that of the *Queen's Remembrancer;* ſecondly, of the *Lord Treaſurer's Remembrancer;* thirdly, the *Office of Pleas;* and fourthly, the *Office of Remembrancer of firſt Fruits and Tenths.* To theſe are to be added the *Courts of Wards*, the records of which now make part of the treaſury of the Queen's bench. There is alſo an apartment

ment in the Exchequer that bears the name of the *Augmentation-office*. For the contents of theſe I refer to Nicholſon.

Among all the ancient records in the Exchequer, *Doomſday Book* is deſervedly of the greateſt reputation and value. It is a tax book made by the commiſſioners of William the Conqueror, wherein is an exact ſurvey of all the cities, towns, and villages in England. It not only accounts for the ſeveral baronies, knights' fees, and plough lands, but gives alſo the number of families, men, ſoldiers, huſbandmen, ſervants and cattle; what rent, how much meadow, paſture, woods, tillage, common heath, marſh, &c. every one poſſeſſed. It is in two volumes, whereof the former gives a ſuccinct deſcription of thirty-three counties, and the latter a ſomewhat larger account of Eſſex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. In the front of each county ſtands a liſt of the lords of the ſoil; that is, the king and a few of his nobles. Sir Henry Spelman has given us a ſample of the book, but it is ſaid that the ſociety of antiquaries are about undertaking the publication of the whole.

There is alſo in the keeping of the king's remembrancer a miſcellany of ancient treaties, which go by the name of the *red book of the*

Exchequer. It has ſome things (as the number of hides of land in many of our counties) relating to the times before the conqueſt, and the ceremonies uſed at the coronation of queen Eleanor wife to king Henry III. There is likewiſe an exact collection of the eſcuages under Henry II. Richard I. and king John.

The *black book* is ſuppoſed to have been compiled by Gervaſe of Tilbury, nephew to king Henry II. In this we have the hiſtory of the firſt inſtitution of the court of the king's Echequer; the manner of ſtating the accounts of thoſe times, and the way of collecting the rents, both in money and purveyances of victuals, &c.

The great roll which bears the name of *Teſta Nevilli* was compiled in the reign of Henry III. and contains an account of all the lands held in grand or petty ſerjeantry within the county of Hereford.

The Engliſh hiſtorian will alſo find his account in conſulting occaſionally the records of aſſize, ſeſſions of the peace, and other inferior courts in England, and in Wales. He ought alſo to look into the navy office, and the abſtracts of accounts, liſts of the old and new ſhipping, from the ſeveral yards at Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, &c. all which may be

be ſeen in the cuſtody of the ſecretary of the admiralty.

For a juſt eſtimate of the military force in England, there are ſeveral repoſitories of papers and rolls, with which an hiſtorian ſhould be acquainted. But above all the *office of ordnance* will afford him the beſt acquaintance with the proviſions of war. All orders and inſtructions for the government of this office, as likewiſe all patents, and grants to the many officers, artificers, attendants, and labourers, with the quarter books for ſalaries, ledgers, receipts, and returns of his majeſty's ſtores, &c. are in the cuſtody of the clerk of the ordnance; as thoſe for the giving out of any proviſions, or ſtores, either at the Tower or any other of the king's magazines, are under the care of the clerk of the delivery.

To underſtand the hiſtory of our trade and commerce, it will be neceſſary to conſult the accounts of exports and imports of all our ſea ports; with the amount of the duties paid for them, which will be found with the officers who have the inſpection of the exciſe and cuſtoms, and alſo in the journals of the Houſe of Commons.

The libraries and muſeums of many noblemen and private gentlemen are able to afford

a good ſupply of materials to an hiſtorian who can procure intelligence of them, and have acceſs to them. And ſince the opening of the *Britiſh Muſeum* many perſons are daily contributing to that immenſe and valuable collection, by ſending ancient writings and manuſcripts; which are much more uſeful when they are thus made the property of the public, than they could be while they were in their own private cuſtody.

A great number of conveyances, deeds, and other papers and records, in the hands of private ſubjects, were deſtroyed in the civil wars; but the ſubverſion of monaſteries deſtroyed the greateſt number of thoſe uſeful materials for hiſtory; ſince many of the moſt conſiderable Engliſh families had committed their moſt valuable writings to the cuſtody of the monks, in whoſe hands they thought them ſafer than at home. The ſmall ſcraps of parchment and of paper, on which they were commonly written, were more liable to be loſt than the more bulky inſtruments of our days.

Many collections of theſe private records have been publiſhed. Particularly we have a very valuable and judicious collection of contracts, grants, and other evidences, gathered chiefly out of the augmentation office by Mr. Maddox,

Maddox, who has placed them in a methodical order, and aſcertained the age of every ſingle inſtrument, from the Norman conqueſt to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. under the title of *Formulare Anglicanum.* The general heads of this work are certificates, confirmations, compoſitions, feoffments, letters of attorney, releaſes, wills, &c. the greateſt part of which are certainly genuine; and notice is given when there ſeems to be reaſon for ſuſpecting any of them.

Had pedigrees been carefully preſerved in all the great families in England, they would have been of excellent ſervice to an hiſtorian; ſince the moſt remarkable circumſtances in the lives of eminent perſons are uſually recorded in them. But few of theſe pedigrees are to be met with.

Old accounts of expences and diſburſements in the families of noblemen and perſons of quality will be of ſingular uſe to an hiſtorian, who cannot but be ſenſible of what importance it is to take notice of the prices of food, clothes, and other conveniences of life, the wages of ſervants, and day-labourers, &c.

It is needleſs to obſerve what advantage may accrue to hiſtory from the *epiſtolary correſpondence*, and private journals, of eminent ſtateſmen,

ſtateſmen, as alſo from the lives of ſuch perſons, in which the moſt important part of the hiſtory of their times is neceſſarily introduced.

The uſe of the *ledger-books*, and other monaſtic records, is very apparent. The moſt eminent of our hiſtorians are greatly indebted to them. Hence they are enabled to clear the deſcents and pedigrees of many noble families, the tenures of eſtates, the ancient cuſtoms of counties, cities, and great towns, the foundations and endowments of churches, &c. For how ſparing or defective ſoever the monks might be in recording the public affairs of ſtate, we are ſure they were extremely diligent in noting thoſe of their own monaſteries; whence it is, that the hiſtories of thoſe cathedrals which were anciently in their poſſeſſion are the moſt entire of any in the kingdom.

The greateſt treaſure of this kind of eccleſiaſtical records is contained in the famous *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, publiſhed in three volumes folio by ſir William Dugdale, and Mr. Dodſworth. Great are the advantages which all branches of our hiſtory, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, will derive from this work; and there is hardly a private family of any conſideration in the kingdom but will here meet with ſomething of its genealogy and pedigree.

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They are moſt ſcrupulouſly exact in tranſcribing the ancient records; ſo that the bad Latin, barbarous expreſſions, and other deformities of the monkiſh ſtyle, are to be reckoned beauties in them.

Tanner's *Notitia Monaſtica* is a valuable addition to the Monaſticon. It not only contains a ſhort hiſtory of the foundation and chief revolutions of all our religious houſes, but preſents us with a catalogue of ſuch writers (noting the places where we may find them) as will abundantly furniſh us with ſuch farther particulars as we may have occaſion for.

Our two univerſities furniſh ſeveral records worthy to be conſulted by our hiſtorians. There are no leſs than twenty-one volumes relating to the antiquities of the univerſity of Oxford, as charters, orders, ſtatutes, decrees, letters, &c. all in manuſcript. Of thoſe which have been printed, the *Hiſtoriola Oxonienſis* is reckoned the moſt authentic. It is only a ſhort fragment of a ſingle page in octavo, wherein we are told that the Britons began an univerſity at Grekelade, which the Saxons removed to Oxford. Anthony Wood has publiſhed a valuable work under the title of *The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity of Oxford.*

The

The *black book* of Cambridge makes as conſiderable a figure there as any of the old ſtatute books can do at Oxford, and it has alſo its *hiſtoriola*, which is equal both for matter and authority to the other. The whole volume is a collection of ancient charters and privileges.

The lives of Engliſh writers have been written by John Boſton, John Leland, J. Pitts, A. Wood, and John Tanner, all proper to be conſulted by an Engliſh hiſtorian. For the character of theſe works, I refer to Nicholſon.

The regiſters of eccleſiaſtical courts can be but of little uſe to a writer of civil hiſtory, eſpecially ſince the reformation. It may not, however, be improper to obſerve that regiſters in churches, of marriages, chriſtenings, and burials, were firſt appointed to be kept in the year 1538, juſt upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries. Theſe have been of ſome uſe, and might be of more if care were taken to regiſter other remarkable occurrences relating to the public concerns of the ſeveral pariſhes.

LECTURE XXXII.

Hiſtorians of other Nations. Where Accounts of them are to be looked for. What ſufficient for an Engliſhman. Henault's Hiſtory of France. Uſe of the Univerſal Hiſtory. Thuanus, Guicciardini, Davila, Voltaire. Lives. Voyages and Travels. Suites of Hiſtories.

HAVING treated ſo largely of the hiſtory of our own nation, I ſhall refer you to ſuch writers as Wheare and Rawlinſon for the hiſtorians of other particular countries. Indeed, conſidering the time it will neceſſarily require to get tolerably well acquainted with the hiſtory of our own country (which it is certainly of the moſt importance for us to be acquainted with) it will be quite ſufficient for any perſon, let him have ever ſo much leiſure for hiſtorical purſuits, to take the hiſtories of other countries from compilers of the beſt repute; and even, of theſe, the moſt voluminous may very well be diſpenſed with. Engliſhmen, in general, for inſtance, hardly need to deſire a better acquaintance with the hiſtory of France than the abridgment of Henault will ſupply them with. It were greatly to be wiſhed that the hiſtories of other nations were drawn up

in

in the ſame compendious manner, and with the ſame judgment. We ſhould then have, as we may call it, the marrow of hiſtory diſencumbered of that load of ſuperfluous matter, which makes the reading of hiſtory, as it is generally written, extremely tireſome and diſguſting. But if a perſon be poſſeſſed of the Univerſal Hiſtory, he will generally have it in his power to inform himſelf of as much of the hiſtory of any foreign country or people, as he can have occaſion for, or deſire.

There are ſome particular hiſtories, however, which are ſo excellently written, and the ſubjects of which are ſo generally intereſting, that though little notice be taken of the affairs of our own country in them, no perſon of a liberal education ought to be unacquainted with them. The principal of theſe are, *Thuanus*'s hiſtory of his own times, a work almoſt equal to any production of the claſſical ages. *Guicciardini*'s hiſtory of Italy, *Davila*'s of the civil wars in France, *Bentivoglio*'s of thoſe of the Netherlands, and *Giannone*'s hiſtory of Naples. The firſt of theſe was written originally in Latin, and the four laſt in Italian.

No writer whatever can excel Vertot in the happy art of making hiſtory entertaining; but

but it is generally thought that he has ſacrificed more than he ought to the graces.

Voltaire's general hiſtory conſiſts of little more than obſervations on a courſe of hiſtory. In general they are certainly juſt, and, to a perſon who is previouſly acquainted with the hiſtories to which his obſervations are adapted, nothing can be more entertaining; and to this his lively manner of writing not a little contributes.

But though the title of his work promiſes a compendious view of univerſal hiſtory, and therefore might ſeem to be intended for perſons who are beginning the ſtudy of hiſtory, it would be wholly unintelligible without a previous acquaintance with the ſubject; not to ſay that it requires a good ſtock of general knowledge to guard the mind againſt his prejudices, and the errors into which his writings in general would in many reſpects betray his readers.

Time is continually producing other hiſtorical productions of great excellence, with which, as they gain the attention of gentlemen and ſcholars, it will become all readers of hiſtory to make themſelves acquainted. The recommendation of theſe muſt be left to the lecturer of the day.

Beſides

Beſides more general hiſtories, many *ſingle lives* are ſo well written, and are ſo peculiarly intereſting and inſtructive, that they force an almoſt univerſal attention; as that of Sixtus V. by Leti, that of Guſtavus Adolphus by Hart, and many others. *Voyages and Travels* are alſo works of an hiſtorical nature that are univerſally pleaſing, and of thoſe every year never fails to produce ſeveral that give the moſt valuable information, and convey it in the moſt pleaſing manner. The moſt generally intereſting are the voyages of the circumnavigators, as that of lord Anſon, and eſpecially the late ones conducted by captain Cook. For both inſtruction and entertainment I would particularly recommend *Park's Travels in Africa*, and *Acerbis in Sweden and Lapland.*

It is a particular ſatisfaction, after reading a diſtinct and intereſting hiſtory of any particular period, to find another hiſtorian whoſe account ſhall begin about the ſame time that the preceding leaves off. I ſhall mention two courſes of this kind which I have peruſed with much ſatisfaction.

Philip De Comines, a ſerious and excellent hiſtorian, has left ſuch an account of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and of Lewis XI. of France, together with many particulars

lars of Edward IV. of England, as is in the higheſt degree intereſting and improving. Had I the education of a prince, he ſhould get many parts of this hiſtory almoſt by heart. It ends with the famous expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy, and with this expedition the hiſtory of Guicciardini, another very exact and copious hiſtorian, begins; and where he ends, viz. a little after the year 1530, the ſtill more celebrated, and more general hiſtory of *Thuanus* commences, ending near the death of Henry IV. of France; including the civil wars of that country, every thing that is intereſting on the theatre of Europe, and even in the more diſtant parts of the world, for the ſpace of about half a century, compriſing events of the greateſt magnitude and importance.

If a perſon cannot read Latin, or French (in which there is a good tranſlation of Thuanus) he may, after Guicciardini, take up the hiſtory of Charles V. by Robertſon, and with much ſatisfaction read that work, and after it the hiſtories of Philip II. and III. by Dr. Watſon.

A method of making hiſtory particularly intereſting and uſeful, is to make the object

of it ſome particular perſon of diſtinguiſhed eminence, whoſe hiſtory has a connexion with almoſt every thing of importance in the age in which he lived; and in writing his hiſtory to omit no tranſaction of any moment. Such a work is the *Memoirs of Petrarch* in three volumes quarto, which I have read ſeveral times with ſingular ſatisfaction. This work gives a diſtinct view of the moſt important affairs of Europe for the ſpace of near ſeventy years, ending A. D. 1374, and including almoſt the whole period of the reſidence of the popes at Avignon. As very little is ſaid in this work of the civil tranſactions of France or England during the reign of Edward III, the defect may be ſupplied from Froiſſart, whoſe manner of writing is very natural and pleaſing, reſembling that of Philip de Comines; and in a ſeries it may with great propriety be read immediately before that work, though there is an interval of near half a century between them, which muſt be ſupplied from other hiſtories.

Immediately after the time of Petrarch was the *grand ſchiſm*, the hiſtory of which is largely written by *L'Enfant* in his *Hiſtory of the Councils of Piſa and Conſtance;* which to perſons who do not diſlike church hiſtory will be very intereſting;

intereſting; and after this he may read, in the ſame author, the hiſtory of the *Council of Baſil*, which will bring him to about the time of Philip de Comines.

If a perſon finds himſelf intereſted in theſe hiſtories of *councils* (which indeed compriſe almoſt every tranſaction of importance, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical, in the period of which they treat) he will have equal ſatisfaction and advantage in reading Father *Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, a work of extraordinary merit in its kind, eſpecially in the French tranſlation, with notes by Courrayer.

It would be highly intereſting to find a ſeries of the lives of great men which might, in ſucceſſion and without interruption, carry us down the ſtream of time till we come to the period of our own recollection. As Mr. Berington has begun in ſo early a period as the *life of Abelard*, and has written it in a manner that makes it highly intereſting, I cannot help wiſhing that we had other works of a ſimilar conſtruction, to bring us from thence to the age of Petrarch. *

* Since this was written, Mr. Berington has written the *Hiſtory of Henry II. and his two ſons John and Richard*, including that of *Thomas Becket*, which may follow that of Abelard.

Voyages

Voyages have leſs connexion with each other than hiſtories of tranſactions by land, but thoſe of great conſequence have often ſome relation to each other, and therefore are read with particular ſatisfaction, in ſucceſſion, as in the collection of Harris, and others. The voyages of Captain Cook, which will always make a moſt intereſting period in the hiſtory of navigation, will cloſe this liſt with great advantage. There are few voyages the objects of which were ſo great, and none that were ſo ably and ſucceſsfully conducted; and they have every advantage of illuſtration by means of maps and cuts.

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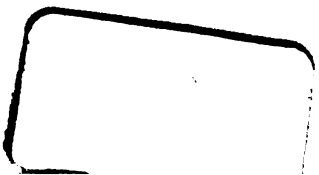
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